National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Services des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL 339 (r. 86/01)

Canada

292

0-315-27023-3

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

- Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

GRACE ELAINE WIEBE

Date of Birth — Date de naissance: JANUARY 29, 1945

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance: United States

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

11739 38 A AVE
EDMONTON, ALBERTA
T6J 0L8

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

The Segmental Phonemes of Swift Current Mennonite Low German

University — Université

University of ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

Master of Arts

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade: 1983

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse: DR. Richard D'Alquen

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date: June 24, 1983

Signature: Grace E. Wiebe

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES OF SWIFT CURRENT MENNONITE LOW GERMAN

by

Ⓒ GRACE ELAINE WIEBE

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
GERMAN LINGUISTICS

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1983

Micro

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: GRACE ELAINE WIEBE

TITLE OF THESIS: THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES OF SWIFT CURRENT MENNONITE LOW GERMAN

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED: MASTER OF ARTS

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1983

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) Grace E. Wiebe

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

11739 38A Ave
Edmonton, Alberta
T6J 0L8

DATED June 24 19 83

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled **THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES OF SWIFT CURRENT MENNONITE LOW GERMAN** submitted by **GRACE ELAINE WIEBE** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF ARTS** in **GERMANIC LINGUISTICS**.

Richard d'Alquen

Supervisor

E. Hale

Bruce L. Derwing

Date 22 June, 1983

Abstract

The Swift Current Mennonites' wanderings took them from Holland, Belgium and adjoining parts of Germany to West Prussia, then Russia and finally to Canada. Their language gradually changed from Dutch to Low German for everyday interaction and High German in the church. The relative isolation of the Mennonite groups in Russia and later in Canada led to the development and consolidation of their own dialect. Some of the Mennonites who came to Manitoba in the 1870's moved to Saskatchewan when the Swift Current Reserve was established in 1905. The Swift Current dialect represents a further development of the dialect spoken in Manitoba.

The six informants were selected for their knowledge of the dialect and their long-term residence in the area of Swift Current, Saskatchewan. The questionnaire used during the interviews is an English translation of the sentences from the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* and the wordlist from the *Deutscher Wortatlas*. The interviews, which were most often conducted in English, were recorded on tape and phonetically transcribed. The analysis of the data was done through computer searches.

There are four voiced-voiceless pairs of stop phonemes in the bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar places of articulation. It was observed that the stops do not, automatically devoice in final position as in High German. There are nine fricative phonemes: the fricative pairs

/f v/, /š ž/ and /ç ĵ/ with initial voiced contrast and /s x h/ with optional voicing. There are bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar nasal phonemes. The phonemes /ñ ŋ/ were found to occur only after lax vowels. There are two lateral phonemes: alveolar /l/, which has a velarized allophone [ɫ]; and palatal /ʎ/, which occurs only medially. The phoneme /r/ has a number of allophones including the Canadian [r]. The palatal order is a characteristic of Mennonite Low German in particular.

In general the vowel system consists of tense and lax subsets. Both front and back vowels have two pairs of tense-lax vowel phonemes /i ɩ/, /e ɛ/, /u ω/, /o ɔ/. There is only one front rounded vowel phoneme, /y/. The other front rounded vowels [œ], [ø] are allophones of the back vowel /o/. In the mid to low regions there are three central vowels /ə ʌ a/. The lower part of the vowel diagram is unusual for its allophonic variation: /ɛ/ has the allophone [æ] and /ɔ/ has the allophone [ɑ]. /ʌ/ and / / are difficult to separate into independent phonemes. The phonemes /ʌ/ and /u/ are borrowed from English.

The numerous diphthongs are divided into two groups: the ingliding diphthongs, which are brought about by predictable off-glides of underlying monophthongs before velar or palatal obstruents; and the upgliding or outgliding diphthongs, which are further subdivided into short and long diphthongs.

The mixing of dialects and influence from English have produced an unstable system characterized by the marginal status of a number of phonemes and frequent morphophonemic alternation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the guidance and untiring supervision provided by Dr. Richard D'Alquen. I also would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Gerwin Marahrens for encouragment in proceeding with this study.

I thank my informants Henry and Margaret Fehr, Margaret Wiebe, Suzie Fehr, John Klassen and John Sommerfeld, for volunteering their time and knowledge of the dialect.

I would like to thank my daughters, Glenis, Kirsten and Megan, for their help and for their faith in me.

Above all, I thank my husband, Leonard, for his assistance during the interviews, his willigness to provide examples from his native language at all times, his support and dedication throughout the preparation of this thesis.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. Introduction 1

A. Historical Background 1

1. General History of the Mennonites 1

2. Socio-linguistic Background 7

B. Methodology 15

1. Informants 15

2. Interviewing Methodology 20

3. The Questionnaire 22

4. Processing of Data 24

II. PHONOLOGY 25

A. CONSONANTS 25

1. Stops 27

2. Fricatives 40

3. Nasals: 58

4. Laterals: 67

5. Trills, Frictionless-Continuants and Semi-Vowels: 72

6. Manner of Articulation: 79

B. VOWELS 81

1. Vowel Chart 81

2. Vowel Length: 83

3. Stressed and Unstressed Vowels: 83

4. Tense and Lax Vowels: 84

5. High Vowels: 90

6. Mid Vowels: 95

7. The Low Vowels: 101

8. Conclusion and Summary of Vowels 105

9. Diphthongs 107

III. Summary and Conclusions 121

Bibliography 124

Appendices 129

I. Map of Original Reserve 130

II. Questionnaire 131

III. Computor Symbols 142

IV. Transcription 143

List of Tables

Table Page

I.1 Official Language or Mother Tongue................12

I.2 Use of German as Official Language or Mother Tongue..................................15

II.1 Consonant Phonetic Chart...........................26

II.2 Symbols Used for Palatal Stops....................34

II.3 Phoneme Chart of Stops...........................40

II.4 Voiced/Voiceless Contrast for Fricatives in Initial Position.............................56

II.5 Phoneme Chart of Fricatives......................58

II.6 Symbols Used for Nasals..........................65

II.7 Phoneme Chart of the Nasals......................66

II.8 Symbols Used for Laterals........................71

II.9 Chart of Lateral Phonemes........................72

II.10 Symbols Used for /r/.............................77

II.11 Phonetic Chart of Vowels.........................82

II.12 Vowels Before Nasals.............................87

II.13 Free and Checked Vowels..........................88

II.14 Vowel Phonemes..................................106

II.15 Monophthongs Versus Diphthongs..................115

II.16 Symbols Used for Diphthongs.....................118

List of Figures

Figure Page

II.1 Distribution of Nasals.............................66

II.2 Distribution of Laterals...........................69

II.3 Ingliding Diphthongs...............................107

II.4 Articulatory Relationship of Vowels and Diphthongs120

I. Introduction

This thesis is a study of the Low German dialect which is spoken by the group of Mennonites who settled in the district south of Swift Current, Saskatchewan early in the twentieth century and who continue to reside in the area and to speak the dialect today. This document begins with an historical account of the Mennonites and a short survey of the sociological factors which have contributed to the existence of the language up to the present time. A brief introduction to each of the informants and a discussion of the questionnaire used in the study are included. This is followed by an account of the methods used for the collection and processing of the linguistic data. The main body of the thesis contains a detailed look at the phonology in which the phonetic and phonemic inventory is discussed, followed by a few conclusions about the phonology and research methods. The Appendices, which contain a map of the area studied, the questionnaire, a transcription of one of the informants' speech and the phonetic script used on the computer.

A. Historical Background

1. General History of the Mennonites

The Mennonite sect emerged in the sixteenth century under the leadership of Menno Simons as a result of the

Protestant Reformation.[1] Religious persecution drove the Mennonites from their homelands, initiating a series of moves over the next few centuries. The group of Mennonites studied in this thesis originated in the lowlands of Europe, in what is now Belgium, Holland and northwestern Germany. The Mennonites, along with other refugees and immigrants from Holland, went to West Prussia at the invitation of various landlords who were interested not only in the agricultural ability of the Dutch people but also in their skill in reclaiming wet lands. The Mennonite group moved to the Weichsel delta, which is a delta formed by the Vistula and Nogat Rivers, and settled amongst other Dutch people with different church affiliations. The Mennonites prospered in West Prussia but migrated to Russia due to the combination of heavy taxation under Frederick the Great and the enticements by Catherine II to settle in Russia. Catherine II promised free land, religious freedom, freedom from military service and taxes. The Mennonites were also promised jurisdiction over their own schools and welfare.[2] Between 1707 and 1840 approximately eight thousand of the sect settled in the Dnieper area of the Ukraine; by 1870 they numbered forty-five thousand. As a result of their prosperity and their population growth they soon were forced to expand into daughter colonies. In all of the colonies in Russia the Mennonites settled in exclusive groups, and for the first time they were separated from the outside world.[3] This segregation enabled them to consolidate their religious practices, language, social mores and culture.[4]

---

[1] Menno Simons, 1496-1561, was originally a Catholic priest from Frisia.

[2] Jack [=John] Thiessen, "Plattdeutsch in Kanada", *German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol. III, ed. Hartmut Froeschle, (Toronto: Historical Society of Upper Canada, Inc., 1976), p. 212.*

In 1870 Russian the Czar, Alexander II, abolished military service exemptions and decreed that Russian, not German, should be taught in their schools. After many delegations to the Czar and his representatives, some concessions were made in 1872.[5] The Mennonites could participate in forestry service instead of military service and some German could be taught in the schools. However, many became distrustful of the government and felt that more privileges would be taken away before long.

Loss of military exemptions and of freedom to teach German in the schools, coupled with the fact that both the United States and Canada were actively soliciting new immigrants, particularly hard-working, industrious farmers such as the Mennonites, resulted in the emigration of fifteen thousand of the more orthodox members. Despite reports of long cold winters, mosquitos and poor lands, many went to Canada, because the Canadian Government was promising religious and academic freedom and exemption from military service. Gerhard Wiebe, who was influential in the decision to emigrate, wrote about this decision:

---

[3] C.A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. 7, ed. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.B. Joerg, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., at St. Martin's House, 1936), p. 99.

[4] For more information on this topic please refer to the paper by Emerich K. Francis, "Mennonite Institutions in early Manitoba: a Study of their Origins," In *Agricultural History* 22, (1948), p. 155

[5] Gerhard Wiebe, *Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America*, trans. Helen Janzen, (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1981), p. 29

> Now the church could choose. It chose Canada because it was under the protection of the Queen of England; and we believed that our freedom from military service would survive longer there and also that church and school would remain under our own jurisdiction.[6]

As a result of the negotiations and promises by the Canadian government, eighteen thousand Mennonites came to Canada. Seven thousand of these moved to the southern Manitoba Reserves between 1874 and 1879. With them came the religious practices and social mores which had been consolidated during a century of isolation in Russia.

The Mennonite settlers in Manitoba were soon looking for additional land to accomodate their large families. The government, intent upon settlement of virgin prairie land by people of European descent, designated land for the Mennonites south of Swift Current. This tract of land was officially called the Rhineland Reserve but is commonly referred to as the Swift Current Reserve. The customary allotment of a percentage of all homestead land to the Canadian Pacific Railway was waived for part of the Rhineland Reserve. Consequently a whole township (Township

---

[6] Wiebe, p. 34.

13, Range 13), except for school land and one and three-quarters sections for the Hudson's Bay Company, was set aside exclusively for the Mennonites. In the neighboring townships (Township 13, Range 14 and Township 14, Range 13) the Mennonites could settle on all even numbered sections with an option to buy an adjoining section. In these adjacent townships land was also allocated to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as well as to the Hudson's Bay Company and for schools. A map of the area is given in Appendix I. At the beginning of the twentieth century Mennonites from Manitoba, and some who had subsequently gone to northern Saskatchewan, homesteaded in the Swift Current area.

The School Attendance Act, passed by the Saskatchewan government in 1917, made school attendance compulsory for children from seven to fourteen years of age and designated English as the language of instruction.[7] A group of the more conservative members of the Mennonite churches were unhappy with this new legislation, and once again there was agitation to emigrate to a country where religious and educational freedom, and military exemptions, would be assured. There was a great deal of interest in South America at that time. Finally, in the early 1920's approximately fifteen hundred Mennonites emigrated from the Swift Current area to Mexico and Paraguay.[8]

---

[7] Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 356.

[8] Cornelius Krahn, "Swift Current (Sask.)," *The Mennonite*

As a result of the sale of large tracts of land because of the move to South America, there was room made for new refugees from Russia to settle in the Swift Current area. The influx of refugees from Russia resulted in the augmentation of the established churches, reorganization and amalgamation of other church groups.[9] The conditions for the settlers in Chihuahua, Mexico, however, were very harsh and within a few years many of the people returned to the Swift Current area. In 1931 the Mennonite settlement is said to have had a population of fifteen hundred.[10]

With the advent of improved road conditions and availability of automobiles, many of the Mennonite settlers began moving from their farms into the larger centers. The children living in rural areas were sent by bus to the central schools, and with better education and improved economic conditions after World War II there was a shift from a rural to a more urban population. This resulted in change, from a homogeneous group engaged mainly in agriculture, to a group of people with a common background working not only in the agricultural but also in the business and professional community.

---

[8] (cont'd)*Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement*, (Scotsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1959), Vol. VII, p. 669.

[9] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982), p. 260.

[10] Krahn, "Swift Current", p. 699. A population of fifteen hundred in 1931 seems a bit low. The number of original settlers in the area, the likely increase due to the large size of the families, the resettlement of those who had gone to Mexico and the new immigrants all would indicate a larger population at this time.

There were two factors which contributed to this shift away from a chiefly agrarian way of life. The first factor was the higher education of the young people. Whereas the first generation born in Saskatchewan had only a few years of formal schooling, the succeeding generations completed the compulsory eight years of school and some went on to High School. Equally important was the mechanization in farming practice, which meant fewer employment opportunities for young people on the farms. Mechanization also led to the purchase of larger tracts of land by individual farmers, so that fewer and fewer young people could take up farming as a profession.

Today, many young Mennonites from the Swift Current area seek post-secondary education in Regina and Saskatoon, the two university cities in Saskatchewan, and others pursue higher education in Mennonite Colleges in Western Canada and the USA. Some have come back to Swift Current to take up professional positions as doctors, nurses, pharmacists, lawyers, dentists, teachers, business men and agricultural scientists in the community.

2. Socio-linguistic Background

When the first Mennonites settled in the Weichsel Delta area of Prussia, the language spoken in the church was Dutch. The Mennonites themselves spoke Dutch until the second half of the eighteenth century.[11] Gradually the East Prussian Dialect of the area became the colloquial language for commerce and social intercourse. The Low German of the Mennonites, however, retained some elements of Dutch, and was little influenced by the Polish language spoken in the vicinity. It has been reported that in the time span between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a peculiar mixture of Dutch and Low German was found in Mennonite notebooks. In the Mennonite church the first sermon given in High German was in a rural area in 1757, and the first High German sermon in the city of Danzig was preached in 1762. Soon the language of the pulpit was High German.[12]

When they moved to Russia in 1788, some Mennonites were still using Dutch in their churches, and Dutch Bibles were even taken along.[13] High German was taught in the schools, and Low German was used for everyday interaction. High German textbooks were imported from Prussia. However, due to the distance, communication with Prussia was not maintained for long and the community was isolated from changes in the mainstream of the German language. Meanwhile, the Mennonites, who were quite receptive to loan words, incorporated Russian words for everyday things such as food and plants; many of these words are still in use today. Due to their religious beliefs, their language, social mores, and their geographic isolation, the Mennonites maintained their Low German and became in effect a linguistic enclave in Russia.[14] The Mennonites soon came to perceive religion and language as closely tied. They felt that their language kept them from contact with worldly things. Howell and Klassen wrote:

---

[11] Cornelius Krahn, "Mennonite Plattdeutsch", *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 33 (1959), p. 256.
[12] Krahn, "Mennonite", p. 257.
[13] Krahn, "Mennonite", p. 257.

> The use of German reinforced their Mennonite identity and thus may have taken on something of a religious aspect.[15]

The Mennonites who had inhabited segregated communities in Russia, moved to Manitoba as a group and lived together on reserves set aside for them. Once again, due to their relative isolation, their belief in staying out of worldly affairs and the homogeneity of their culture and society, they could maintain their language. When some of the group moved to Saskatchewan these conditions continued to prevail and they remained a closely-knit group. Thus, new speech enclaves developed in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

In Canada the Mennonites were allowed to maintain their own German-language schools for some period of time. Change due to outside pressures was nevertheless inevitable. During the First World War the German language and virtually every thing of German flavor and background fell into disfavor.

---

[14] Richard W. Howell and Jack Klassen, "Contrasting *du/Sie* Patterns in a Mennonite Community", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, Nr. 2 (Feb. 1971), p. 70.
[15] p. 70.

There was a public outcry against the teaching of the German language in schools after World War I, and laws were passed to eliminate German-language instruction in both public and private schools. The suppression of German private schools was not entirely possible, as this contradicted the promise of educational freedom made by the federal government in 1873.[16] Universal compulsory education was legislated by the provinces of Manitoba in 1916 and Saskatchewan in 1917 as a result of the widespread prevailing opinions of patriotism. The legislation was perceived as a way of assimilating the many ethnic minority groups. The schools were now to come under provincial scrutiny and public schools were established in each area. The language of the public schools was English, so many Mennonites continued to send their children to private schools, where the language of instruction was German. Indubitably there were problems with these private schools. They proved difficult to maintain and they could be judged unsatisfactory and therefore closed at any time by the provincial inspectors.[17] Consequently some children in the Swift Current area only went to school for a few years and were taken out of school when the state tried to force them to attend English schools. Many parents paid large fines (large according to their economic level) for not sending their children to school. The encroachment of the English language and Anglo-Saxon elements of the Canadian culture in general were reason enough for the emigration of some Mennonites to South America.[18]

---

[16] Dawson, p. 104.
[17] Epp, *History of a Separate People*, p. 357.

Eventually all the children attended provincial schools and learned English. The parents established a school on Sundays where their children could learn German. In some of the churches the children learned "Plautdietsch" rather than High German. These Sunday schools were operational until the early fifties, when the dialect was falling into disfavor among the Mennonites themselves.

During and after the Second World War, the young people, sensing the animosity against the German language, refused to speak "Plautdietsch" in the shopping areas and other public places of Swift Current. As well, they were embarrassed to be seen talking to anyone who spoke "Plaut". During this period the children were forbidden by their teachers to speak German in the school. In some of the rural schools children were punished, sometimes corporally, if they were caught speaking German on the schoolyard during lunch or at recess, even though some of the youngsters only knew a little English when they first went to school. The general unpopularity of Germans is reflected in the census reports given below:

---

[18] Today there are a number of Mennonites living in Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico.

Official Language or Mother Tongue[19]

	1951[20]		1961[21]	
Division	German	Netherlands	German	Netherlands
4[22]	1,240	285	1,874	55
7[23]	3,893	2,721	4,423	1,405
8[24]	7,476	1,423	6,512	1,247
Total	12,609	4,429	12,809	2,707

The 1951 census seems to capture the sentiment of the populace after the war, as more people in the Swift Current area said that their mother tongue originated in the Netherlands in the 1951 census than in the 1961. Yet in 1961, even though the population had not changed significantly, the allegiance had shifted back to more German and fewer Dutch speaking people.

---

[19] In the front leaf of their Special Bulletin entitled *Population Specified Mother Tongues for Census Divisions and Subdivisions*, Catalogue 92-773 (SP-3), Dec. 1972, Statistics Canada states, "For census purposes, the concept of 'mother tongue' is defined as the language which a person first learned and still understands".

[20] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Population: General Characteristics*, Ninth Census of Canada 1951 Vol. I, Table 5.6, (Ottawa: Dept. of Trade and Commerce, 1953), pp. 56-17 to 56-19.

[21] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Population Official Language and Mother Tongue* 1961 Census of Canada, Table 66. Series (1.2), Bulletin 1.2-9, Catalogue 92-549 Vol. I, Part 2, (Ottawa: Dept. of Trade and Commerce, Jan. 1963), p. 66-21.

[22] Division 4 includes Lac Pelletier, Blumenhof and Blumenort.

[23] Division 7 includes Coulee, Chortitz and Rosenhof.

[24] Division 8 includes Swift Current, Rhineland, Schoenfeld and Wymark.

In recent years there has been an upsurge in pride for the Mennonite language and heritage. This is due in part to the general interest in multiculturalism across the country. Many people of Mennonite background are now part of the establishment in the area and their language has more prestige than earlier. There are still a few churches where the service is given in German, albeit a mixture of High and Low German. These are the Sommerfelder churches in Rosenhof, Schoenfeld and Swift Current. There is also a religious program being broadcast regularly in *Plautdietsch* over the local radio station. Some of the children attend Camp Elim on Lac Pelletier, which is a Mennonite summer camp that was founded in the forties. The Swift Current Bible Institute, established in 1936 and still in operation, attracts many young Mennonites for a few semesters, or even years, of post-secondary religious study. In the local high school German has been taught as a language option since the late nineteen-sixties, whereas only French and Latin had been offered before that time. Once a year the Mennonite churches hold a public bazaar where ethnic foods and handicrafts are sold. This has been well received in the community.

Although there has been a definite increase of interest in Mennonite customs, ethnic background and language, the young people are not learning to speak the Low German of their ancestors. The reasons for this are numerous. One may be that many of the older people still feel that their dialect is a poor form of German and that it should not be studied or learned. A second reason is that the general higher level of education, frequently including a study of High German, has had a detrimental effect on peoples' perception of Low German. The main reason, however, would appear to be the assimilation of the Mennonite group into the dominant culture. The table below indicates the gradual decline in the use of German and reflects the use of English by the younger generation:

Use of German as Official Language or Mother Tongue

Division	1951[25]	1961[26]	1976[27]
4	1,240	1,874	1,435
7	3,893	4,423	3,495
8	7,476	6,513	4,435
Total	12,609	12,810	9,365

B. Methodology

1. Informants

The informants were selected first and foremost on the basis of their knowledge and use of the dialect. It was relatively easy to find a number of people who had spoken Mennonite Low German in the home as a child and who continue to speak it today. The second most important criterion for the choice of informants was long-time residence in the Swift Current area. People who had been born in Canada were selected to be the major informants. However, as later arrivals from Russia have influenced the language, two of the informants were chosen on the basis of having been born in the Ukraine. All of the informants except one live in the city of Swift Current itself, although they have all lived on farms or in villages in the original Mennonite settlement south of the city. Most of the informants have had a limited amount of schooling in High German. Whereas all speak fluent English, only the two younger informants speak English at home. Two of the subjects are third generation Canadians, two are second generation Canadians, two are first generation Canadians; three are male and three are female. A short personal history containing details pertinent to their speech follows.

---

[25] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953, pp. 56-17 to 56-19.
[26] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963, p. 66-21.
[27] Statistics Canada, *Population: Demographic Characteristics Mother Tongue*, 1976 Census of Canada, Table 4, Catalogue 92-821 (Bulletin 2.2), Vol. 2, (Ottawa:Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, 1976), p. 4-21.

1. **Margaret Fehr.**

Mrs. Fehr who is forty-seven years old, has lived in the Swift Current area most of her life. She lived fourteen miles south of Swift Current, first on a farm near Wymark and then in Wymark (19 years), later southeast of Wymark (Hopefield School, 2 years) and then southwest of Wymark (Cedar Hill School, 4 years). She has spent a few years away from the Swift Current district, but most of this time was in areas also populated by Mennonites (Saskatoon, 1 year;

Brock, 4 years). She has lived in Swift Current for the past seventeen years. Her parents both spoke the Low German of the Mennonites almost exclusively in the home, which meant that she did not learn much English until she went to school. Margaret attended English school for twelve years and received her Senior Matriculation. She has never had any formal training in High German, cannot write German and reads High German only sporadically. She sometimes reads *Plautdietsch* publications, which are quite numerous at present.[24] Her husband, Henry Fehr, speaks Mennonite Low German. Her oldest daughter can speak the dialect but the younger two say that they can only understand it.

2. **Henry Fehr.**

Mr. Fehr is fifty years old. He was born on a farm near Blumenhof south of Swift Current. Both of his paternal grandparents were born in Russia, came to Canada via the United States and settled in Manitoba. It is believed that his mother's parents also came from Russia. They settled in Manitoba as well and then moved to Saskatchewan. His father came to Saskatchewan in 1915. Henry attended a rural school near Blumenhof for seven years, after which he attended boarding schools, first in Three Hills, Alberta (1 year) and then at Cairnport School (3 years), which is near Moose Jaw. Henry learned some High German in public school, took Grade

---

[24] Due to the various semi-phonetic spellings used by the different authors, the informant says she must read them aloud to get the gist of the piece.

10 German by correspondence and studied the equivalent of matriculation German at the University in Saskatoon. He is a graduate of the Saskatchewan Normal School and holds the Bachelor of Education degree from the University of Saskatchewan. Mr. Fehr is at present teaching mathematics in the Swift Current Composite High School. In the home he and his wife (Margaret Fehr) speak English with a smattering of *Plattdeutsch*. They do use the dialect frequently when visiting or socializing with friends and relatives.

3. **Margaret Wiebe.**

Mrs. Wiebe, whose maiden name was Margaretha Teichroeb, was born on August 31, 1908 on the Swift Current Reserve. It is believed that her paternal grandfather grew up in Georgstal in the Ukraine and came to Canada in 1876.[11] Her father was born in Blumstein, Manitoba and grew up in Chortitza, Manitoba. Her mother was born in Canada in 1876. Her father was a lay teacher for a while but took up farming when the family moved to their homestead at Schaunzenfeld in the Reserve south of Swift Current. She attended German school for four years but never attended English school. As a teenager, Mrs. Wiebe moved with her family to Chihuahua, Mexico. where they lived in a Mennonite settlement from 1923 to 1925. They then moved back to Blumenhof and later to Schoenfeld, both in the Swift Current Reserve. Except for the brief sojourn in Mexico Mrs. Wiebe has lived in this area for over seventy years. Mrs. Wiebe learned English as a domestic with an English-speaking family on a district farm. She and her husband lived on a farm near Springfeld and later in the town of Wymark. They spoke Mennonite Low German almost exclusively in the home and all of their children speak the dialect. As most of her children have now moved away, the grandchildren are not learning Mennonite Low German. Mrs. Wiebe now resides in Swift Current.

---

[11] Peter Goertzen, ed., *Teichroeb: A family history and genealogy of Peter Johann and Justina (Wolf) Teichroeb and their descendants* (Winnipeg: Peter Goertzen, 1980), p. 54.

4. John Klassen.

John Klassen's father was born in 1879 in Russia and came to Manitoba in 1891. His mother was born in Canada. His parents married in 1902 and homesteaded in the Swift Current area in 1910. John grew up in Schoenfeld where he attended German school for nine years. He only started learning English in 1933. In 1942 he moved with his wife and family into the city where he worked for English-speaking employers until retirement. He taught German Sunday School in the Dunelm Sommerfelder Church until the mid fifties. Mr. Klassen and his wife speak *Plautdietsch* at home. His children can still speak the local Mennonite Low German, however most of his grandchildren cannot understand his dialect.

5. Suzie Fehr.

Mrs. Fehr was born in Russia. When she came to Canada in 1926, she first lived in Herbert, Saskatchewan. She later worked in the district of Swift Current where she has lived for the past fifty-five years. Mrs. Fehr has had five years of schooling in German and has learned some Russian in school as well. Her parents both spoke Low German in the home. She married a widower in the Wymark area who was born in Canada and who also spoke Mennonite Low German. Mrs. Fehr still speaks *Plattdeutsch* to family and friends.

6. John Sommerfeld.

Mr. Sommerfeld was born in 1910 in the Ukraine. He is not sure whether his father was born in Russia or in Germany but he believes his father was raised as a Mennonite from age twelve when John's grandmother remarried. John Sommerfeld's family came from Russia to Winkler, Manitoba when John was two years old. After one year they went to Neville, Saskatchewan and later to Vanguard, Saskatchewan, where they lived to the next twelve years. He then moved to a farm near Wymark on the Swift Current Reserve. He has since lived in the Wymark vicinity for fifty-five years. He studied German for about three months and attended English schools for eight years. His wife also speaks the Swift Current dialect.

2. Interviewing Methodology

The informants were interviewed in their own homes, with the interview being conducted at the kitchen table. The informal setting of the interview served to put the informants at ease. After a brief question period about family history, the tape recorder was turned on. Due to the small size of the recorder and absence of a forbidding microphone the subjects were soon uninhibited about being taped. During the interview the informant was not prompted by the interviewer. After a moment or two of hesitation if an answer was not forthcoming, the next word or phrase was introduced. When an answer was elicited, it was transcribed onto the prepared questionnaire in phonetic script, so that comparisons between the script and the recording could be made at a later date. If the informant mentioned other words or phrases which were not on the computerized list, these, too, were transcribed and recorded. The informant was sometimes asked to repeat certain words for clarity and accuracy. The formal interview usually lasted one to one and one-half hours. If the subject showed signs of restlessness or boredom, the interview was terminated. A more informal discussion was often conducted over coffee and cake with other members of the family.

The first set of interviews was carried out in the summer of 1981 over a two week period. Subsequent discussions ensued at Christmas 1981. Six more interviews took place at various intervals over the next one and one-half years. After the initial group of conversations, successive interviews were undertaken for clarification of sounds. A transcription of Margaret Fehr's speech is given in Appendix IV.

3. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is comprised of the forty sentences compiled by Georg Wenker[30] and the list of words used by Walther Mitzka for his *Deutscher Wortatlas.*[31] It was deemed necessary to translate these sentences and words into English as some of the informants knew little or no High German.[32] It was also felt that the speaker might be influenced by the High German pronunciation. As a test control, however, some of the speakers were presented with the sentences or word stimuli in English and at a later date in German. A significant difference observed was in the selection of lexical items or in word order. The influence of the interviewer language on the response evoked is demonstrated by the word-pairs below. The speaker is Margaret Wiebe:

'slice of bread'	[šne:dbřaot]
'Brotscheibe'	[břaotšne:d]
'swath'	[švaot]
'Grasschwade'	[gřaossni:dp̧]

---

[30] Georg Wenker, Ferdinand Wrede and Bernhard Martin. *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (Marburg: N.G. Elvert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931).

[31] Walther Mitzka and Ludwig E. Schmitt, *Deutscher Wortatlas*, (Gießen: W. Schmitz, 1954-1957).

[32] The English translation of the Wenker sentences and Mitzka's wordlist as well as the originals are given in Appendix II.

'to smoke'	[šmiəCən]
'rauchen'	[řyəkən]

But not always:

'cup'	[taos]
'Tasse'	[kωfɭ]

The pronunication seemed to be unaffected. The only deviation from the German original occurs when the item listed was not relevant to the area in which the data was collected. *Heckenrose* 'dogrose' was changed to 'wild rose' which is indigenous to Saskatchewan. There are no starlings in the area so 'meadowlark' was substituted in that slot. The translation for the word *Igel* which means 'hedgehog' was left in as it was felt that the speakers would know this word. However, none of the informants knew what the equivalent for 'hedgehog' was, but did have a word for 'porcupine'. Thus 'porcupine' was added to the list. No answer was forthcoming either in German or in English for 'godfather ' or 'godmother'. As godparents are not used in the Mennonite faith, these items should have been omitted.

4. Processing of Data

The data, that is the sentences, words and phrases collected during the interviews, were entered into the computer in a substitute phonetic script.[33] This phonetic script was devised to fit the limitations of the type which the computers could display at a computer terminal such as an Anderson Jacobson 510 or a Digital Decwriter II. At the same time an attempt was made to stay as close a possible to the phonetic alphabet suggested by the International Phonetic Association.[34] By using capitals for some of the Greek symbols, an ampersand for schwa and a combination of letters for other symbols, a new phonetic alphabet was created for computer use. The symbols used for this improvised phonetic script are given in Appendix III. Once entered into the computer, the data could then be sorted simply by scanning for various combinations of sounds. This proved to be a fast and accurate way of utilizing the data.

---

[33] The computer system used is the Michigan Terminal System (MTS) at the University of Alberta.

[34] *The Principles of the International Phonetic Association being a description of the International Phonetic Alphabet and the manner of using it, illustrated by texts in 51 languages.*, (1949; rpt. London: International Phonetic Association, 1979).

II. PHONOLOGY

The following is an examination of the sounds which occur in the "Plautdietsch" spoken in the Swift Current area. First, the phonemic status of each of the sounds is discussed and then a phonemic table is presented. The phonemes are based on the evidence given by minimal pairs, except where, due to lack of data, a minimal pair is missing, in this common circumstance the sounds in question are looked at in analogous environments.

A. CONSONANTS

The following is a chart of phonetic realizations noted in this dialect:

Consonant Phonetic Chart

		bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	vl.	p‘p p’		t‘t t’	ţ	c‘c c’	k‘k k’	ʔ
	vd.	b		d	ḑ	ɟ	g	
fricatives	vl.		f	s	š	ç	x	h
	vd.		v	z	ž	ĵ	γ	
nasals		m		n		ń	ŋ	
laterals				l,ł		ʎ		
trills				ř,r̲				
glides + semi-vowels			r			j		

1. Stops

a. Types of Release:

i. Aspirated and unaspirated stops:

The voiceless stops [p, t, c, k] can either be aspirated or not. They are usually aspirated at the beginning of words as in [tʻi:ən] 'ten' and [pʻωntʻ] 'pound'. However, [pʻωntʻ]~[pωnt] 'pound' and [pʻi^t] ~[pi^t] 'horse'. They are sometimes aspirated finally: [zιkʻ] 'himself' and [kʻlωkʻ] 'hen, old woman', but the aspiration at the end of words seems to depend on emphasis. Therefore the same speaker may use [kʻlωkʻ] and [kʻlωk]. In rapid speech the word-final aspiration is often lost. In syllable-final position, although there may be aspiration in normal unemphasised speech, there is usually no or only slight aspiration. If the next segment begins with a homorganic fricative, there is no aspiration. Examples of this are: [kɔpv^ι] 'headache'; [pιtš] 'whip'; [blιtsə̥] 'lightning'.[1] At the end of a phrase the aspiration is retained, but in the middle of a phrase the aspiration at the end of a word is very light or absent. The [t] in [h^e æt ϵm^ aij^] 'he always eats eggs' is unaspirated.

Medially the voiceless stops may be aspirated if they are found in syllable initial position; thus the second /p/ in [pʻϵ:pʻ^] 'pepper' is also aspirated. This is particularly evident in compound words like ['ba:ktʻen]

---

[1] Stress usually falls on the first syllable unless otherwise noted. Primary stress is indicated by ' and secondary stress by , immediately preceding the stressed syllable.

'molar' or [fi:st'cʻni:pʌ] 'big, black bug' and in stressed syllables as in [fə'kʻɩlt] 'caught a cold' or [fə'tʻalt] 'told'. Before other consonants the voiceless stops may or may not be aspirated. For example, when giving a list of words a speaker may aspirate ['k̇ʻlωkʻ] 'hen' and [pʻřæsp̥] 'to press' but in a normal conversation the aspiration would be slight. Because aspiration or lack of aspiration does not change the meaning of a word, aspiration, therefore, cannot be considered phonemic but must be considered the allophonic variation of the voiceless stops. This may be represented ideally:[1]

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ voice} \\ +\text{ stop} \\ +\text{ homorganic} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{ aspirated}] \ / \ \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ homorganic} \\ +\text{ fricative} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ [\pm\text{ aspirated}] \ / \ \underline{\qquad}\# \\ [+\text{ aspirated}] \ / \ \text{elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

ii. Unreleased stops:

An unreleased stop can occur at the end of an utterance or before a consonant. This occurs in statements where there is no emotional involvement on the part of the speaker. This was observed particularly when the informants were asked to give a series of uninteresting, one-word equivalents.

---

[1] In this diagram and those following C stands for consonants and means *non-syllabic*; *V* stands for vowels and means *syllabic*; ± denotes *free variation*; + **homorganic**, though not a standard feature, is used here for clarity.

Examples of this are: [dɛfat'] 'pigeon' and [ɷpə'štæp'] 'into the grainfield'. Stops are often not released before other consonants, across syllable boundaries, even across word boundaries. For example the [t] of [yt'feɩjə] 'to clean up'. Stops are usually unreleased before homorganic stops. For example: ['štɩŋ̊k'kaɷt] 'skunk'; [ət''darp] 'at or beside the village'; [nɷšt'dʌonən] 'to do nothing'. This can be represented as:

$$[+\ \text{stop}] \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} [\pm\ \text{released}] & / \ \_\_\_\_\#\\ [-\ \text{released}] & / \ \_\_\_\_\text{C}\\ [+\ \text{released}] & / \ \text{elsewhere} \end{Bmatrix}$$

iii. Nasal release:

Nasal releases occur before nasals in unstressed syllables as in [lɩçt^{N}n̥] 'lightning'(verb); [skold^{N}n̥] 'to scold'; [cʻni:p^{N}n̥] 'to pinch'. This is optional as both [pʻi:p^{N}n̥] and [pʻi:pən] 'to whistle' are found. This optional nasal release may be represented as:

$$[+\ \text{stop}] \rightarrow [\pm\ \text{nas. rel.}] \ / \ \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{syllabic}\\ +\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$

iv. Lateral Release:

A lateral release may occur before /l/ in unstressed syllables. Examples or this are ['dɩst^{L}l̩] 'thistle' and [bɷd^{L}l̩] 'bottle'. Examples of lateral release of non-dental stops were not found. As is the case with the nasal releases, lateral releases are also optional and, therefore, not phonemic. This may be represented as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ dental}\\+\text{ stop}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\pm\text{ lat. rel.}] \;/\; \underline{\qquad} \quad \begin{bmatrix}+\text{ syllabic}\\+\text{ lateral}\end{bmatrix}$$

b. Voice:

The voiced stops [b, d, ɟ, g] are sometimes devoiced at the end of words particularly when the following word begins with a voiceless stop or fricative. For example the [b] in this string, [æc hæb kɔp'vʌɩ] 'I have a headache', can also be devoiced. Devoicing usually occurs at the end of an utterance, where voicing ceases in anticipation of silence.

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ stop}\\+\text{ voiced}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{lll}[\pm\text{ voiced}] & / \; \underline{\qquad} & \left\{\begin{array}{c}\begin{bmatrix}\text{C}\\-\text{ voice}\end{bmatrix}\\ \#\end{array}\right\} \\ [+\text{ voiced}] & /\text{ elsewhere} & \end{array}\right\}$$

In modern standard German the voiced obstruents, that is, the voiced stops and fricatives, never occur at the end of words, before voiceless consonants or before juncture, where they are automatically unvoiced to their voiceless counterparts. For example, the /b/ in /li:bən/ 'to love' becomes /p/ in /li:p/ 'dear, beloved' ; /li:ptə/ 'loved'; /li:plo:s/ 'loveless'. However, in Mennonite Low German this does not automatically occur. A speaker may say [břʌot] 'bread' one time and [břʌod] the next or [rɔg] and [rɔk'] both meaning 'rye'. In this particular case [t] and [d], or [k] and [g] do not contrast, because they do not change the meaning of the word. Therefore, in final position the stops sometimes lose their voiced-voiceless distinctions. For stops we could formulate the rule:

[+ stop] → [± voice] / ______#

The voice-voiceless contrast does remain in initial and medial positions. This can be observed in the following analogous environments:

Initially		**Medially**	
[pi:pən]	'to whistle'		
[bi:tən]	'to bite'		
[tenʌ]	'teeth'	[ɣərаɩtə]	'Margaret'
[den]	'the'	[paɩdʌ]	'Peter'
[kaɔt]	'cat'	[šmɔkʌ]	'pretty'
[gaɔt]	'good'	[bɔgʌ]	'buggy'

Using the above pairs as proof, we can then say that voice is contrastive in initial and medial position and is therefore phonemic.

c. Place of Articulation:

i. Bilabial stops versus alveolar stops:

The bilabial stops are [p] (voiceless) and [b] (voiced). The alveolar stops are [t] (voiceless) and [d] (voiced). The bilabial stops are separate phonemes from the alveolar stops as evidenced by the following pairs:

bilabial		**alveolar**	
[pi:^t]	'horse'	[di:n]	'your'
[bi:t]	'bit'	[ti:t]	'time'

ii. Palatal stops:

The palatal stops are [c], which is voiceless, and [ɟ], which is voiced. These occur in contrasting environments in [cl^ed^] 'clothes' and [ɟlaɪz] 'track'.

In the literature the question of the symbols to be used for [c] and [ɟ] seems to have caused some confusion.[3] The following table shows the various symbols used by certain authors. The underlined symbols are those symbols chosen for orthographic renderings of the Mennonite Low German dialects spoken in Canada. J.W. Goerzen uses vertical lines "more as a phonemic standard than an accurate phonetic equivalent."[4] J. Thiessen writes that his symbols are neither consistently phonetic or phonemic, but are rather a compromise between the two. In his *Mennonite Low German Dictionary* he encloses his symbols in round brackets.[5] In his *Studien zum Wortschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten* he uses no enclosing brackets for the symbols.[6] To avoid confusion between the phonetic/phonemic symbols and the orthographic symbols, the symbols used by these two authors are enclosed in slant lines in the chart below.

---

[3] I have chosen the symbols [c] and [ɟ] because the informants generally used the front of the tongue and the hard palate, not the tip or blade of the tongue and the alveolar ridge, for which the symbols ţ and ḑ would have been more appropriate.

---

[4] J[acob] W[arkentin] Goerzen, *Low German in Canada: A Study of "Plautditsch" as Spoken by Mennonite Immigrants from Russia.* (Edmonton:n.p., 1972), p. 84.

[5] Jack [=John] Thiessen, *Mennonite Low German Dictionary: Mennonitisches Wörterbuch* (Marburg:N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1977), p. 11.

[6] J. Thiessen, *Studien zum Wortschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1953), p. 9.

Symbols Used for Palatal Stops

	[c]	[ɟ]
Goerzen	/ᶄ/~/ƫ/[7] ᶄ~kj[8]	/ᶁ/~/dj/~/gj/[9] dj~gj[10]
Mierau	[kj][11] /kj/[14]	[dʸ][12] ~[dj][13]
Moelleken	[ƫ]~[tʰ] /t/[16]	[ᶁ][15] /d/[17]

---

[7] Goerzen, p. 87.
[8] Goerzen, p. 87
[9] Goerzen, p. 92.
[10] Goerzen, p. 184.
[11] Eric Mierau, *A Descriptive Grammar of Ukrainian Low German*, Diss.,Indiana University 1965 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1969) p. 25.
[12] Although Mierau does not list [ɟ] as a phoneme, he does use the phonetic symbol [dʸ], p. 29.
[13] Mierau, p. 100.
[14] Mierau, p. 3.
[15] W.W. Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch der Molotschna- und Chortitzamennoniten in Britisch Columbia/ Kanada, Phonai 10, Monographien 4*(Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1972) p. 31.
[16] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, p. 32.
[17] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, p. 33.

Thiessen	/ķx/[18] ~ /ķ/[19] ~/kx/~/tj/[22] tj	/ǵj/[20] ~ /dj/[21] dj[23]

The question arises as to whether the palatal stops are phonemes or allophones of the velar stops. Let us look at the voiceless stops [k] and [c] in analogous environments. The pairs of words [karf] 'basket'; [caršt] 'crust (of bread)' and [o:nkast] 'supper'; [nᵊcast] 'a wedding' show that both [k] and [c] occur before [a]. The stops [c] and [k] also contrast before final [ə] as in [hoʌkə] 'hook' and in the diminutive forms like [betcə]'a little bit'.

There is a tendency for [k] to occur before back vowels and for [c] to occur before front vowels. [c] occurs before [i, ι, ε] in word like [ciskaωɫf] 'female calf', [cint] 'child' and [cεkən] 'to cook', but [k] also occurs before front vowels: once before [e] in [kek] 'cake' and once before [ε] in [kεnιc] 'king'. [k] is common before [ɔ] as in [kɔdə] 'cloth' and [kɔlt'] 'cold'. [k] occurred once before [u] in [kuəkən] 'cake' and is more common before [ω] as in

---

[18] Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 10 and *Dictionary*, p. XII.

[19] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 1. The symbol /kx/ also appears on occassion.

[20] Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 10. This symbol is only used in the section entitled Verwendete Lautzeichen of his *Dictionary*, p. XII, but never in the body of the dictionary.

[21] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 36 and *Studien*, p. 37.

[22] Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 37.

[23] Thiessen uses tj and dj for the orthography in both his *Studien* and his *Dictionary*. There is also an instance of dj being used for [dž] in the *Dictionary*, p. 15.

[kωn] 'can (vb.)' and [kωfl̩] 'cup', but [c] never occurs before [ɔ, u, ω]. Only the variant [k] occurs before [^o] and [aω], while [c] occurs before [aι] and [^e]. They may be said to be in complementary distribution before diphthongs. The synchronic distribution before diphthongs seen in feature form is:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{stop} \\ -\ \text{anterior} \\ -\ \text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\ \text{velar}\ ] \;/\; \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{diphthong} \\ -\ \text{front} \end{bmatrix} \\[2em] [+\ \text{palatal}] \;/\; \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{diphthong} \\ +\ \text{front} \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right\}$$

From the above information, we can see that even though [k] tends to occur before back vowels and diphthongs which glide toward the back vowels, and [c] tends to occur before front vowels, they cannot be seen entirely in complementary distribution or as allophones of the same phoneme. We therefore regard /c/ and /k/ as independent phonemes.

The same is probably true of [g] and [ɟ]. However, the occurrence of [ɟ] in the data was rare. It was mainly found before [l] in words such as [ɟl^ιv] 'to believe'; [ɟlaιç] ' to like'; [ɟlεclιç] 'lucky'. [g] also occurred before [l], but only infrequently, and then before back vowels as in [gloms] 'cottage cheese'; [glωtšən] 'to slip'; [glaωt] 'slippery'; [glωk] 'luck'. Due to lack of data a definite conclusion cannot be reached, but, on the basis of parallels with [c] and [k], with further evidence [g] and [ɟ] would probably be found to contrast and to be separate phonemes.

An allophone of /c/ is [ţ], which occurs after a hormoganic stop as in [kaωttţə] 'little cat'. Since no contrast between [c] and [ţ] has been observed, then the palatals may spread into the palato-alveolar place of articulation without confusion with any existing phoneme. [24]

An allophone of /ɟ/ is [ḑ]. This sound becomes fronted through assimilation with the labial stop in [tɔbḑωk] 'dish cloth' or the alveolar stop in [pre:ddḑʌ] 'preacher'. The allophones of /c/ and /ɟ/, that is [ţ] and [ḑ] may be generated by:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{stop} \\ +\ \text{palatal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{lll} [+\ \text{fronted}] & / \begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{front} \\ +\ \text{stop} \end{bmatrix} & \underline{\qquad\quad} \\ & & \\ [+\ \text{palatal}] & /\ \text{elsewhere} & \end{array} \right\}$$

The next question which arises is whether the palatal stops and the alveolar stops are separate phonemes. The sounds [t] and [c] are contrasting because they occur in analogous environments in [cʌevp̥] 'to chew' and [tʌevʌ] 'moth'; in [ci:lpɔg] 'tadpole' and [ti:t] 'time'. Therefore [c] and [t] must be separate phonemes.

---

[24] This assimilation occurs in rapid speech. However, in more careful speech the diminutive suffix is [-cə] as in [betcə] 'a little bit' and [kaɔtcə] ' little cat'.

Due to lack of data it was difficult to find [d] and [ɟ] in contrasting environments. Even though [ɟ] usually occurs before [l], and [ɟ] also can occur initially before [m], [n] and [ř] as in [ɟmyz] 'vegetables'; [ɟnr̦pl̩] 'cartilage'; [ɟřʌɩvən] 'cracklings'. [d] is never found initially before [l], [m] or [n]. [d] did, however, occur before [ř] in [dřæšən] 'combining'; [dřʌɩ] 'three'; [dřaiən] 'to turn over'. As [d] and [ɟ] occur in contrasting environments before [ř], they must be separate phonemes.

iii. The glottal stop:

The glottal stop, [ˀ] can precede a syllable-initial vowel. It cannot be considered phonemic because it is optional: [ˀaopl̩] and [aopl̩] both mean 'apple'. The glottal stop occurs initially, after a pause, under emphasis, or marking a boundary between vowels. For example: [ˀaɩnəˀaopl̩]. The glottal stop should therefore be considered an optional vowel onset at the beginning of words.

d. Voiceless stops:

The voiceless stops [p, t, c, k] can be considered to be in contrast because they are found in analogous environments. For example, in the words:

[pɛlts]	'fur coat'	[pře:ɟʌ]	'preacher'

[tɛšən]	'between'	[třaɩct]	'dresses'
[cɛkən]	'to cook'	[cři:zəɫ]	'whirlwind'
[kɛnɩç]	'king'	[křaɩbωžʌ]	'thistle'

The stops [p, t, c, k] contrast with each other and with their voiced counterparts. Therefore, we can consider /p, t, c, k/ to be phonemes in this dialect.

e. Voiced stops:

The voiced stops [b, d, ɟ, g] contrast because they are found in the following analogous environments:

[boʌ]	'bear'	[břʌot]	'bread'
[doʌ]	'there'	[dřʌe]	'three'
		[ɟřʌɩvən]	'cracklings'
[goʌdn̥]	'garden'	[gřaωshɔpʌ]	'grasshopper'

Since [b, d, ɟ, g] contrast with one another and with the voiceless stops [p, t, c, k], then /b, d, ɟ, g/ are phonemes.

f. Summary of the Stops:

Aspiration and devoicing, lateral and nasal releases, are allophonic variations of the stops and are therefore not considered phonemic. Palatalization, however, because it can be shown to occur in contrasting environments, should be considered to be phonemic in this dialect. The following is a phoneme chart of the stops:

Phoneme Chart of Stops

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
vl.	/p/ [p‘p p’] [p^N]	/t/ [t‘t t’] [$t^N t^L$]	/c/ [c‘c c’ţ]	/k/ [k‘k k’]
vd.	/b/ [b]	/d/ [d $d^N d^L$]	/ɟ/ [ɟ ḑ]	/g/ [g]

2. Fricatives

a. Voice:

There are five voiced-voiceless pairs of fricatives, [f-v], [s-z], [š-ž], [ç-ĵ] and [x-γ] in use in this dialect. Although these pairs can be found to contrast in certain positions, in other positions the voice-voiceless contrast is reduced and each voiced member of a pair appears to be in free variation with its voiceless counterpart. For example in a medial voiced environment the labial fricative is not consistently voiced, as with: [f]~[v] in [bɨɣəřafnɩs]~[bɨɣəřavnɩs] 'funeral, burial'. On the other hand the same fricative will often vary according to environment when following a voiceless stop. For example, the [v] in [vɔrm] 'worm' remains voiced [v] in a voiced environment like [əřeɩgənvɔrm] 'earthworm' but is voiceless after [t] in [maoltfɔrm] 'mole'; similarly [vʌɩ] 'ache' and [kɔpfʌɩ] 'headache'.

There is a tendency for initial [s] to vary with [z]. If the preceding word ends in a voiceless consonant the following word may begin with a voiceless fricative as in [nɩç sʌɔ] 'isn't it?'. However, in less rapid speech this may be rendered as [nɩç zʌɔ], using the voiced fricative. In sentence initial position voicelessness is apt to carry over into the initial sound from the preceding word. Thus [saɩ] 'she' may vary with [zaɩ] 'she', depending on the preceding sound. Similarly, in sentence final position the voicelessness of a pause is anticipated. For example, the word for 'enough', [jənuɔɣ] in mid-sentence before a voiced sound uses [ɣ] but will become [jənuɔx] in sentence final position. Voicing, however, may not always be anticipated in a final fricative when the next word begins with a voiced sound. This failure to anticipate can be observed in some phrases where sometimes the same speaker may use the voiceless consonant [s] and the next time the voiced fricative [z], eg., [viz mi:]~[vis mi:] 'show me'. These are the typical cases of voiced-voiceless alternations, which make the phonemic status of voice in general highly questionable. We must decide the issue for each individual place of articulation.

b. Voice in Each Place of Articulation:

i. Labio-dental fricatives:

The labio-dental fricatives are [f] (voiceless) and [v] (voiced). They contrast in initial position in the following minimal pairs:

[fa:d^]	'cousin' (m)	[va:d^]	'weather'
[fi:^]	'fire'	[vi:^]	'was'

Due to the above evidence, we can say that [f] and [v] are phonemic.

Medially there is a tendency for [f] to occur before voiceless sounds, that is, before /t/ in [oft‘] 'fruit' and [fᵊ'daft] 'disappeared'. As stated in the section above on voicing, the [f] will sometimes vary with [v] in a voiced environment. For example [bɩγᵊřafnɩs] ~ [bɩγᵊřavnɩs] 'funeral'. Similarly, [f] varies with [v] in a voiceless environment as demonstrated in [ˀaɩvstᵊn] 'harvesting' (noun) and [ˀaɩfst] 'harvest'. [v] will often become devoiced after voiceless sounds in rapid speech. The words [tvaɩ] 'two' and [švɩnd] 'fast' are sometimes pronounced [tfaɩ] and [šfɩnd]. In the morpheme [vɔrm] 'worm' the initial sound is [f] after a voiceless consonant in [maoltfɔrm] but [v] in a voiced environment as in [əřeɩgənvɔrm]. The following were found in the corpus without variants, but it is likely that they occur with voiced/voiceless variants.

[řaɩfən]	'tire'	[caɩvən]	'to chew'
[šæfl̩]	'shovel'	[nevl̩]	'fog'

The next two examples show [f] and [v] occurring in analogous environments. However, as [jə] is a removable prefix, we are really dealing with initial [v] and [f] and therefore one would not expect a voiced/voiceless variation.

[jə'falən]	'fell'	[jə'vast]	'was'

In word-final position the voiceless [f] is more common than [v]. This is due to the tendency for voicelessness at the end of words in sentence-final position or before words beginning in voiceless consonants, but since a reliable prediction is not possible, there is still free variation in final position, as, for example, between [f] and [v] in

[fif]˜[fiv] 'five'; [fif hωnd^t] 'five hundred'; [fif ɔsən] 'five oxen'; [fif dɔƚ^] or [fiv dɔƚ^] 'five dollars'.

The conclusion must be that /f/:/v/ occurs only initially. The voiced/voiceless alternation of [f] and [v] in other positions will be represented by the archiphoneme /F/. The following diagram shows the distribution of these phonemes:

/f/ : /v/ / #______

/F/ / elsewhere

ii. Alveolar fricatives:

The two alveolar fricatives are [s] (voiceless) and [z] (voiced). The alveolar fricatives demonstrate the voiced-voiceless free variation even more often than the other fricatives. Therefore, it is much more difficult to show that [s] and [z] are separate phonemes. In some instances [s] and [z] could be said to be in complementary distribution. After voiceless consonants only [s] occurs, never [z]: [vantsən] 'lips (of an animal)'; [da:ksəl] 'cover'; [blɩtsən] 'lightning'. Similarly, only [s] occurs before the voiceless stop [t]: [jɩstərn] 'yesterday; [jəvast] 'was'. Initially, although [z] is more common, [s] and [z] are in free variation: [s^ɩ]˜[z^ɩ] 'she'; [zeᵊj]˜[seᵊj] 'sow'; [sɔl]˜[zɔl] 'should'. Final [s] and [z] could also be said to be in free variation as in [ho:s]~[ho:z] 'rabbit' and [vis]~[viz] 'show'. However, there are some words such as [ɛs] 'is'; [as] 'as'; [i:s] 'ice'; and [graɔs] 'grass'; which always end in the voiceless consonant,[28] but even here no contrast is possible with [z].

It is not possible to set up separate phonemes for [s] and [z] as there is no phonemic contrast. The voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives can be represented by the phoneme /s/. The only rule governing the voiced/voiceless variation for the alveolar fricatives is as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ fricative} \\ +\text{ alveolar} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{ voiced}] \; / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ -\text{ voiced} \end{bmatrix} \_\_\_\_ \end{array} \right\} \\ \\ [\pm\text{ voiced}] \; / \quad \text{elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

iii. Palato-alveolar fricatives:

The fricatives in the palato-alveolar range are [š] and [ž]. The voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [š] is much more common than the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ž].

---

[28] This phenomenon could be explained by underlying phonemes or morphemes. For example, in the word [ɛs] 'is' the [s] is always voiceless even if followed by a word beginning with a voiced phoneme. Perhaps for historical reasons an underlying morpheme for this word could be *est*--with the [t] understood.

In fact, [ž] was only observed in seven words, but due to the consistent use of voice in initial position we conclude that [š] and [ž] contrast. The following pair may serve to exemplify this contrast in analogous environments.

[šɛfəl]	'shovel'	[žyž]	'drunk'

In other positions [š] seems to vary with [ž].

We can propose /š/ and /ž/ as separate phonemes in initial position[26] and the archiphoneme /Š/ for medial and final positions. The distribution, then, is:

/š/:/ž/ / #______
/Š/ / elsewhere

iv. Alveolar versus palato-alveolar fricatives:

It is possible to show that the alveolar fricative represented by the phoneme /s/ contrasts with the palato-alveolar fricatives /ž/ and /š/ in word-intial position:[27]

---

[26] In their studies on Mennonite Low German, W.W. Moelleken, J. Thiessen, J.W. Goerzen and E. Mierau all list /ž/ as a phoneme separate from /š/.

[27] In the list of words below the symbol * indicates that these words are likely to occur but have not been found in the data.

alveolar		palato-alveolar	
[z^o]~[s^o]	'so'	[š^oɫ]	'school'
[zaut]~*[saut]	'satiated'	[šaund]	'embarrassment'
[zyř^]~*[syř^]	'sour'	[žyž]	'drunk'

The above indicates that /s/ contrasts with both /š/ and /ž/.

It can be shown that the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [š] contrasts phonemically with the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in medial position, as evidenced by the following pairs:

alveolar		palato-alveolar	
[vaosᵊn]	'to grow'	[vaošᵊn]	'to wash'
[præsn̩]	'to press'	[dræšn̩]	'to thresh'
[mæs^]	'knife'	[dæš^]	'carpenter'

It is difficult to prove a contrast between the voiced counterparts, [z] and [ž], in initial or final position due to the free variation of voice. However, the corpus contained the following apparently contrasting pair with [s] and [š] contrasting word-finally after [æ]:

alveolar		**palato-alveolar**	
[zæs]	'six'	[dæš]	'table, dresser'

Even more difficult to show is a contrast between [z] and [ž], owing to the scarcity of words containing [ž]. Nevertheless, a contrast can be observed in medial position in the following analogous environments:

alveolar		**palato-alveolar**	
[dʏzənt]	'dozen'	[rʏžən]	'humming'

The above would indicate that the alveolar fricatives do contrast medially and finally with the palato-alveolar fricatives, that is, /s/:/Š/

In initial position before consonants most speakers used [š], but sometimes [š] will vary with [s] in this position for the same word: [spʌωdi]~[špʌωdi]'hurry!'; [staxəlšvi:n]~[štaxəlšvi:n] 'porcupine'; [smiᵊkt]~[šmiᵊkt] 'smokes'. This also occurs before word-final [t]: [hast]~[hašt] 'have' (2 sg.). In medial position [s] and [š] seem to follow the same pattern although [s] and [š] were never observed in the same word. Examples of [s] and [š] plus [t] in medial position are: ['zɛstʌ] 'sister'; ['bʏmaɪstʌ] 'carpenter'; [di:stl̩] 'shaft of cart'; [miaštᵊ] 'most'; [darštɪç] 'thirsty'. This seems to be an alternation of phonemes. Words which have been borrowed from English or words that are similar to English tend to have [s] plus consonant: [skoldn̩] 'to scold'; [sl^ιsn̩] 'to slice', [sn^ι] 'snow'; [frɔst] 'frost'.[34]

v. Palatal fricatives:

The palatal fricatives are [ç] (voiceless) and [ĵ] (voiced). Voiced [j] occurs word-initially in words like [ĵanz] 'geese', [ĵælme^] 'carrot' and syllable-initially in [aιĵ^je:ls] 'egg yolk' and [^pĵəřεtən] 'torn up'. Voiceless [ç] never occurs word-initially but does occur in syllable-initial position in the diminutive suffix: [γlεkçən] 'little bell'. Both [ç] and [ĵ] occur intervocalically as in [aιĵ^] 'egg' and [cnεçəl] 'knuckle'. Only [ç] occurs before voiceless stops: [lιçtn̩] 'lightning'; [jəsaçt] 'said'.

Although the evidence in the corpus is weak, [ç] and [ĵ] appear to contrast syllable-initially and are therefore separate phonemes. The archiphoneme /Ç/ will be used to represent the palatal fricatives in other positions. The distribution of [ç] and [ĵ] is:

---

[34] We assume this is phonemic variation caused by dialect and language mixing.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ fricative} \\ +\text{ palatal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{ voiced}] \ / \ \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ stop} \\ -\text{ voiced} \end{bmatrix} \\ [+\text{ voiced}] \ / \ \#\_\_\_\_ \\ [\pm\text{ voiced}] \ / \ \_\_\_\_\# \end{array} \right\}$$

The voiceless palatal fricative [ç] contrasts with the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [š] as is evidenced by the following analogous environments:

palato-alveolar		**palatal**	
[dɛš]	'table'	[nɛç]	'not'
[mi^št]	'most'	[jəsaçt]	'said'
[mɛnšən]	'people'	[kə'nɩnçə]	'rabbit'
[tɛšən]	'between'	[cnɛçəl]	'knuckle'

Therefore, /š/ and /ç/ are separate phonemes.

[ž] and [ĵ] also contrast in one pair of words:

palato-alveolar		**palatal**	
[žyž]	'drunk'	[ĵyn^]	'those'

/ž/ and /ĵ/ are thus also separate phonemes.[29]

vi. Velar fricatives:

The voiceless velar fricative is [x] and the voiced velar fricative is [γ]. [x] may vary with [γ] in word-final position: [jənuɔx]~[jənuɔγ] 'enough'; [fɔndeɔx]~[fɔndeɔγ] 'today'. In the other word positions there is a complemetary distribution between [x] and [γ]. In mid-word position only [x] was found before the voiceless stop [t]. [γ] occurs in morpheme-initial position in [bəγəřæfnɪs] 'funeral' and [γərʌɪn] 'green', whereas [x] never occurs in this position. Both [x] and [γ] are found intervocalically, where [γ] may occur after a front or a back vowel in words like [heγəlt] 'hailed' and [jənuɔγ] 'enough', and [x] occurs only after central or back vowels [nɔx] 'still, yet'; [daxt] 'wick'; [staxəlboʌ] 'porcupine', but never after a front vowel. The distribution of [x] and [γ] can be illustrated as follows:

---

[29] Thiessen, Moelleken and Goerzen all list /š, ž, ç, ĵ/ as separate phonemes.

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\ \text{fricative}\\+\ \text{velar}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l} [-\ \text{voiced}] \;/\; \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix}\text{C}\\-\ \text{voiced}\end{bmatrix} \\ [\pm\ \text{voiced}] \;/\; \left\{\begin{array}{r} \_\_\_\_\# \\ \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\-\ \text{front}\end{bmatrix}\_\_\_\_ \\ \text{V}\_\_\_\_\text{V}\end{array}\right\} \\ [+\ \text{voiced}] \;/\; \left\{\begin{array}{c} \# \\ \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\+\ \text{front}\end{bmatrix}\end{array}\right\}\_\_\_\_ \end{array}\right\}$$

As [x] and [γ] were never found in analogous environments, except in free variation, and their distribution can be described as indicated above, [x] and [γ] are not separate phonemes. The phoneme /x/ will represent the voiced and voiceless velar fricatives in all positions.

vii. Velar versus palatal fricatives:

The voiceless velar fricative [ç] contrasts with the voiceless palatal fricative [x] after [a] in the following analogous environments:

velar		**palatal**	
[šlaxtən]	'to butcher'	[šlaçt]	'bad'
[dax]	'day'	[vaç]	'way'
[naxt]	'night'	[řaçt]	'right'

Due to this contrast they must be considered to be distinct phonemes. Therefore, /x/:/ç/.

However, [ç] and [x] do not contrast after other vowels. [ç] is found after front and central vowels: [nɛç] 'not'; [fɔrdɩç] 'finished'; [sti^ç] 'steer', [vaç] 'way'. [x] is found after back and central vowels: [dɔxt^] 'doctor'; [fřωxt] 'fruit'; [daxt] 'wick'. This distribution can be represented as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ fricative}\\-\text{ anterior}\\-\text{ voiced}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l}[+\text{ velar}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\-\text{ back}\end{bmatrix}\underline{\hspace{3em}} \\ \\ [+\text{ palatal}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\-\text{ front}\end{bmatrix}\underline{\hspace{3em}}\end{array}\right\}$$

The voiced velar fricative [γ] contrasts with [j] at the end of words:

velar		**palatal**	
[øɔγ]~[øɔx]	'eye'	[høɔĵ]	'high'

They are therefore separate phonemes in the environment /______#. However, [ĵ] varies with [γ] in [bəγəřæfnɩs]~[bəĵəřæfnɩs] 'funeral'. Goerzen states that [ĵ] is either [ĵ] or [γ] when followed by a front vowel.[30] [ĵ] may also vary with [γ] in word-initial position in words such as: [γanz]~[ĵanz] 'geese' and [γᵊnɛc]~[ĵənɛc] 'neck'. The diagram below espresses this variation in terms of features:

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ fricative}\\-\text{ anterior}\\+\text{ voiced}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\pm\text{ palatal}] \;/\; \underline{\qquad\quad}\begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\-\text{ front}\end{bmatrix}$$

Which means that [ĵ] and [γ] vary intervocalically and syllable- or word-initially.[31] Although, /x/ does contrast with /Ç/ there is some morphophonemic alternation between the palatal and velar place of articulation.

---

[30] Goerzen, p. 89.

[31] The variation between [ĵ] and [γ] will be discussed further in the section on Manner of Articulation at the end of this chapter.

viii. Glottal fricative:

There is only one glottal fricative [h], which is voiceless. It is found in word-initial or syllable-initial position but never in word-final or syllable final position. For example, [h] occurs word-initially in [h^m↓] 'bee'; [haoɬts] 'throat'; [hɛŋ^] 'behind'; [ho^t‘] 'heart'; and syllable initially in [bə'hi:pə] 'to stook'; [ɔp'hi:rən] 'to stop, finish'.

The glottal fricative [h] cannot be found to contrast with the voiceless velar fricative [x] because [x] never occurs word- or syllable-initially. [h] does contrast with the voice velar fricative in the following analogous environments:

velar		**glottal**	
[ɣanz]	'geese'	[han]	'hen'
[ɣe:lət]	'yolk'	[hevaom]	'midwife'

Therefore, the glottal fricative /h/ can be considered a phoneme separate from /x/.

c. Summary of the Fricatives:

It has been demonstrated that although voice is phonemic, there is a tendency for fricatives to be voiced in a voiced environment and to be voiceless in a voiceless environment, such as in sentence initial and sentence final positions, and after voiceless consonants. The voiced/voiceless distinctions were maintained word-initially for the pairs, /f,v/, /š,ž/ and /ç,ĵ/, but tended to be lost elsewhere. The table below gives an overview of where fricatives demonstrate voiced/voiceless contrast in initial position:

Voiced/Voiceless Contrast for Fricatives in Initial Position

	#______	**Elsewhere**
labial	contrast	no contrast
alveolar	no contrast	no contrast
palato-alveolar	contrast	no contrast
palatal	contrast	no contrast
velar	no contrast	no contrast
glottal	no contrast	no contrast

It was demonstrated that the palatal fricatives contrast with the velar fricatives, however there is some morphophonemic alternation before front vowels, intervocalically and initially and with a partial complementary distribution after front and back vowels.

In the phoneme chart for the fricatives below a star (*) following a phoneme indicates that the voiced/voiceless distinction is maintained only initially, a capitalized letter denotes an archiphoneme and the symbols in square brackets are the allophones.

Phoneme Chart of Fricatives

	labial		alveolar		palato-alveolar		palatal		velar		glottal
vl.	/f/*	/F/	/s/	[s]	/š/*	/Š/	/ç/*	/Ç/	/x/	[x]	/h/
vd.	/v/*			[z]	/ž/*		/ǰ/*			[γ]	

3. Nasals:

a. Neutralization of Contrasts Within the Nasal Subsystem:

There is a tendency towards neutralization of contrasts among the nasals [m, n, ñ, ŋ] when these occur before stops and fricatives,[33] as indicated by the following table:

---

[33] Mierau says: "Except for a few words like /hamd/ shirt, all nasals are neutralized before (homorganic) stops and fricatives /f s z/ (but not the other fricatives)...." p. 29.

[m] / ______ [p]
[n] / ______ [t, d, s, z, š]
[ɲ] / ______ [c]
[ŋ] / ______ [k]

Occasionally the nasals appear also before certain non-homorganic stops and fricatives. [m] and [ŋ] occur before [s] and [z] in [^omzəl] 'meadowlark'; [^ımsjə] 'small ant'; [hɛŋst] 'neutered stallion; [jɷŋz] 'boys'. [m] is followed by [c] in the diminutive ending of [mɔmcə] 'woman, wife; [faləmcə] 'colt'. [ŋ] is also found before the [t] of the third person singular verb ending as in [aunfaŋt] 'begins'. From this example we see that [n] may appear before [f]. The above table may be expanded to include all of the obstruents which follow the nasals:

[m] / ______ [p, c, s, z]
[n] / ______ [t, d, f, s, z, š]
[ɲ] / ______ [c]
[ŋ] / ______ [t, k, s, z]

Since no preconsonantal nasal is restricted to the environment before its homorganic stop or fricative, we must posit four separate nasal phonemes and no archiphonemes.

b. Place of Articulation:

i. Bilabial versus alveolar nasals:

The bilabial nasal [m] and the alveolar nasal [n] are found in contrasting environments in the following words:

alveolar		**bilabial**	
[naijən]	'to sew'	[mailc]	'milk'
[niə]	'new'	[minə]	'my'(pl.)
[gaunz]	'goose'	[^omzəl]	'meadowlark'
[kaon]	'can'	[kaom]	'comb'

Therefore /m/ and /n/ contrast and are separate phonemes. The alveolar nasal /n/ has a syllabic and a non-syllabic allophone. The combination schwa plus alveolar nasal can be replaced by a syllabic [n̩] with no difference in meaning: [dřæšən]~[dřæšn̩] 'threshing'; [dyzənt] ~[dyzn̩t] 'thousand'. As there is no change in meaning [n] and [n̩] are both allophones of /n/.

ii. Alveolar versus palatal nasals:

The palatal nasal [ñ] contrasts with the alveolar nasal [n] after [ɛ] and [æ] in:

alveolar		palatal	
[ɛnə]	'in the'	[bɛɲəl]	'naughty boy'
[bænʌstɪt]	'drake'	[læɲʌ]	'longer'
[hʊnt]	'dog'	[ʊɲən]	'below'

They are, therefore, separate phonemes. We have /m/:/n/:/ɲ/, but it would be as well to express some caution regarding /ɲ/.

iii. The palatal nasal:

The palatal nasal [ɲ] occurred infrequently in the speech of the informants. Thus, it is difficult to make definite conclusions about this sound. However, certain facts about distribution may be indicated. [ɲ] never occurs in word-final or word-initial position. [ɲ] usually occurs intervocalically where the second vowel is either [ə] or [ʌ]: [šʌobæɲʌ] 'shoe laces'. It occurs also before the homorganic stop [c] as in [jʊɲcʌ] 'little fellow'.

Although [ɲ] is almost always to be found after the front lax vowels [ɪ, ɛ, æ], it does occasionally occur after the back lax vowel [ʊ] in [ʊɲən] 'below' and [jʊɲcə] 'little fellow'. To be sure, in the corpus [ɲ] occurs after lax vowels only. The following diagram shows the environments in which /ɲ/ occurs:

Environment for the phoneme /ñ/

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{lax} \\ \left\{\begin{matrix} [+\text{front}] \\ [+\text{back}] \end{matrix}\right\} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{front} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{stop} \\ +\text{palatal} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

In spite of this rather restricted distribution, we adhere to the conclusion that /ñ/ is phonemic.

iv. Palatal versus velar nasals:

Eric Mierau says:

> The nasals /nj/ and /ng/, both have very limited distribution (with respect to contiguous vowels); contrast only when they are contiguous to /u/, but are neutralized to other vowels.[33]

In agreement with Mierau, the palatal nasal [ñ] can be found to contrast with the velar nasal [ŋ] after [ω] (=Mierau's /u/) in the Swift Current Mennonite German; the two are therefore separate phonemes:

---

[33] Mierau, p. 29.

palatal		**velar**	
[ωñən]	'below'	[jəfωŋ́ən]	'found'

However, in the Swift Current dialect, both [ŋ́] and [ñ] also occur after [ɩ, ϵ, æ, ω] and before [,^] as in the following:

palatal		**velar**	
[hɩñ^]	'behind'	['ytvrɩŋ́ə]	'to wring out'
[švϵñəl]	'lever'	[hϵŋ́st]	'stallion'
[š^ωbæñ^]	'shoe laces'	[væŋ́]	'wall'
[ωñən]	'below'	[hωŋ́^]	'hunger'

The distribution of the palatal nasal [ñ] is similar to the distribution of the velar nasal [ŋ́] in that intervocalically both occur only before the central lax vowels [ə] and [^]. Another parallel is that neither is ever in word-initial position, but both can occur medially. Only [ŋ́] may occur in word-final position. Both [ñ] and [ŋ́] occur after the lax vowels [ɩ, ϵ, æ, ω], but only [ŋ́] occurs after [a] as in [štra:ŋ́k] 'rope', [aonfaŋ́ən] 'to begin'. [ñ] occurs before the homorganic stop [c], and before no other stop. [ŋ́], while it likewise occurs before the homorganic stop [k], is also found before other consonants, namely [t, s, z]. The environment in which [ŋ̇] is found can be summarized as follows:

Environment for the phoneme /ŋ̇/

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{lax} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{lax} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{front} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{stop} \\ +\text{velar} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{obstruent} \\ +\text{alveolar} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \# \end{matrix} \right\}$$

In the literature the transcription of [ñ] and [ŋ̇] is somewhat varied. The chart below is an indication of the symbols used by the authors indicated:

Symbols Used for Nasals

	[ń]	[ŋ́]
Goerzen	[n] nj[34] ~ng[35]	[ŋ́] ng[36]
Mierau	/nj/	/ng/[37]
Moelleken	[n] /n/	[ŋ́] /ŋ́/[38]
Thiessen	[ń][39] ~[nj][40] ~[ŋ́j][43] nj[44]	[ŋ́][41] ~[ng][42] ng[45] ~nk[46] ~nj[47]

---

[34] Goerzen uses /n/ before /ţ/, but in the spelling he uses nķ, p. 99.
[35] Goerzen uses this symbol before front vowels, p. 88.
[36] Goerzen uses /ŋ́/ before /k/ and ,/ţ/, but either nk(p. 140) or ngk for the spelling (p. 139). Sometimes he uses ng before ķ (p.99) and sometimes n before ķ (p. 140).
[37] Mierau, p. 3
[38] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, p. 34.
[39] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. XII and *Studien*, p.10.
[40] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 7 and *Studien*, p. 38.
[41] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p.XII and *Studien*, p. 9.
[42] Thiessen *Dictionary*, p.9. Sometimes he uses n, nk or ŋk, p. 6.
[43] This is difficult to tell as the word is listed veplenjere with (fəpléŋ́jrə) as the pronunciation guide. Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 67.
[44] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 1
[45] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 4.
[46] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 60.
[47] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 16.

c. Relative Distribution of Nasals:

The following table indicates the relative distributions of the nasals in initial-, mid- and final-word position:[44]

Distribution of Nasals

	initially	**medially**	**finally**
/m/	X	X	X
/n/	X	X	X
/ɲ/		X	
/ŋ̇/		X	X

Phoneme Chart of the Nasals

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
nasals	m	n[n][n̥]	ɲ	ŋ̇

---

[44] Moelleken notes that [ɲ] also occurs finally. *Niederdeutsch*, p. 34.

4. Laterals:

a. Assimilatory Features of Laterals:

In certain instances there is a tendency for the laterals to acquire the features of adjacent sounds. Specifically, only the velarized alveolar [ɫ] occurs after [au] and [^o]. The tongue, which is humped up towards the back of the mouth for the articulation of the back vowels, [u] and [o] (which comprise the second element of the diphthongs), will stay humped in the articulation of the following alveolar lateral, thus producing a velarized [ɫ]. For example: [b^oɫt] 'soon'; [^oɫ] 'all'; [hauɫs] 'throat'

There is regressive assimilation of the laterals before the palatals [c] and [ç]. Only [ʎ] occurs before other palatals as in [bɛʎcən] 'shout'; [vaiʎçən] 'violets'.

b. Co-Articulation:

i. Velarization:

The two alveolar laterals are [l] and [ɫ]. The velarized alveolar lateral, [ɫ], is an allophone of /l/. [l] and [ɫ] are in complementary distribution, with [ɫ] occurring after the diphthongs [au] and [^o] and with [l] occurring after other vowels and diphthongs and in other word positions. For example:

[zɔlt]	'should'	[b^oɫt]	'soon'
[bal]	'male'	[mauɫ]	'mall'

This complementary distribution can be represented as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ lateral} \\ +\text{ alveolar} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} [+\text{ velarized}] & / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ diphthong} \\ -\text{ front} \end{bmatrix} \\ & \\ [-\text{ velarized}] & /\text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

However, certain speakers'' use the velarized [ɫ] in final position, when it is syllabic or when it occurs after schwa; [štɔpsɫ̩] 'cork' [cřizəɫ] 'whirlwind'. These speakers did at other times use [l] in the same words: [štɔpsl̩] and [cři:zəl]. The above diagram must be expanded to include this phenomenon:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ lateral} \\ +\text{ alveolar} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} [+\text{ velarized}] & / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ diphthong} \\ -\text{ front} \end{bmatrix}\underline{\qquad} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\pm\text{ velarized}] \\ [\pm\text{ syllabic}] \end{array} \right\} & / \underline{\qquad}\# \\ [-\text{ velarized}] & /\text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

'' These speakers were younger and therefore used more English. The occurrance of [ɫ] in this position is probably due to interference of English.

ii. Palatalization:

Although the palatal lateral [ʎ] is not very common, [ʎ] was found to contrast with [l] in the following environments:

alveolar		**palatal**	
[mə'laun]	'melon'	[mι'ʎaun]	'million'
[jɛlt]	'money'	[hɛʎdax]	'holy day'

As [l] and [ʎ] occur in analogous environments, they must be separate phonemes. The alveolar lateral /l/ can occur initially, medially and finally; the palatal lateral/ʎ/ occurs word-medially. Although, /ʎ/ was never observed in word-final position, it did occur in syllable-final position in [hɛʎdeɔɣ] 'holy days'. The following table indicates the relative distribution:

Distribution of Laterals

	initially	**medially**	**finally**
/l/	X	X	X
/ʎ/		X	X

The following chart shows the various symbols used for the laterals by selected authors. The symbols in brackets indicate that the authors use these symbols, but either do not list them in their charts of symbols or do not consider them to be phonemes. The velarized allophone of [l], that is [ɨ], is not included, as none of the authors cited have observed the occurrence of this sound in the dialects they have studied:

Symbols Used for Laterals

	/l/	/ʎ/
Goerzen	[l] l̲	[l] l̲j̲¯l̲[50]
Mierau	/l/	(/lj/)[51]
Moelleken	[l] /l/	[l-][52] /l/[53]
Thiessen	[l] l̲	([lj]) (l̲j̲)[54]

---

[50] Goerzen uses l̲ in the orthography when the palatal [ʎ] is followed by the palatal stop [c], p. 88.
[51] Mierau does not mention the occurrence of [ʎ] either as a phoneme or an allophone. However, the sequence /lj/ does appear in some of his transcriptions, pp. 58 and 64.
[52] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, pp.34-35.
[53] As Moelleken sees [l] and [l-] as allophones of /l/, he uses the same phonemic symbol for both. *Niederdeutsch*, p. 31.
[54] Thiessen does not use the palatal lateral in his list of symbols in his *Dictionary* p. XI or *Studien*, p. 9. However, he does recognize [lj] as a sequence of phonemes, because he uses the sequence [lj] in several places in the *Dictionary*, pp. 11, 15, 16, 23, etc.

c. Summary of Laterals:

There are two lateral phonemes; /l/ and /ʎ/. /l/ has the velarized allophone [ɫ], which occurs after diphthongs that begin in a central position and glide towards a back position. The two allophones of /l/, that is [ɫ] and [l], are in free variation at the end of words. Although there is a tendency for /ʎ/ to occur before other palatals, it does occur before other sounds. Whereas /l/ can occur in any word position, /ʎ/ tends to occur medially.

Chart of Lateral Phonemes

	alveolar	palatal
laterals	/l/[l][ɫ] [l̥][ɫ̥]	/ʎ/

5. Trills, Frictionless-Continuants and Semi-Vowels:

a. Trills:

There are two trills: [ř], which is an apico-alveolar trill and [ɾ], which is an alveolar flap or one tongue tap of a trill. Both [ř] and [ɾ] can occur between vowels; they are not separate phonemes, but occur in free variation between vowels: [uřən]~[uɾən] 'ears', [tə'řetən]~[tə'ɾe:tən] 'torn up'. Whenever one of the trills follows [γ] or [j] there is usually a short vocalic sound or schwa between the trill and the fricative. For example: [γᵊr̲ʌɪn] 'green'; [γər̲ædə] 'bigger', [jər̲ʌɪvən] 'crackling', [jᵊři:bᵊn] 'to catch'. Even when [ř] is in initial position there is a tendency for the voice-onset to occur slightly before the beginning of the articultation of the trill. This has been transcribed as a schwa preceding the trill as in: [ᵊřaodʌ] 'red' [əřɔg] 'rye', [əřʌm] 'around', [əřyɔk] 'smoke'. [ř] occurs in final position in word such as [joᵊř] 'year'; [æř] 'her'; [fɔř] 'around'. So far the phoneme /r/ is always postvocalic, since initially /r/ normally has an onglide of schwa.

b. The Frictionless Continuant [r]:

The frictionless continuant [r] or "Canadian r" is quite evident in the Swift Current dialect.[53] The continuant [r] always occurs before consonants and in final position as in [karf] 'basket', [hɔrx] 'listen', [bytr̥] 'outside'. As [r] never occurs intervocalically, it is not in free variation with the flapped [r̲]. Goerzen writes:

> We notice the influence of Canadian English "r" in words where it precedes |v, st, f, j| and |n|. Trilled-r, |r|, seems to remain between vowels, before |ç|; initially after |d|, |n|; finally before |p| and |b| at the end of a word.[54]

---

[53] It is used by all of the speakers at one time or other. The younger speakers or those that speak English more frequently use this [r] more often.

[54] Goerzen, p. 187.

In addition to the consonants [v, st, f, j, n] mentioned by Goerzen, [r] also precedes [p, t, c, št, x, m]. The pattern which emerges is that the continuant [r] tends to occur before voiceless obstruents and before [m, n, j]. However, it does vary with [ř] in: [caršt]~[caršt] 'church', [beřə̥]~[berə̥] 'berries',[ɛřntən]~[ærntən] 'to harvest'. As Goerzen stated the trilled [ř] seems to remain between vowels and after initial consonants. Although Goerzen observed only [ř] before final [p], the use of [r] before [p] does occur in the Swift Current dialect in [dærp] 'village'.

There is clearly also a vocalic variant of /r/. [ʌ] is pronounced with a central tongue position with little or no lateral constriction of the tongue . Although [ʌ] in usually articulated further back and with a somewhat lower tongue position than [ə], [ʌ] can become identical with [ə] in pronunciation. Whenever a word such as [obʌ] 'but' becomes [obə] in rapid speech, we must consider this to be a morphophonemic alternation. If we look at the following pairs or series of words we will see that [ʌ] varies with [r] [r̠] and [ř] without overlap with /ə/. Therefore [ʌ] is also an allophone of /r/: [fɔřm[illegible]]~[fɔrmʌ]~[foˆmʌ] 'farmer'; [foʌcɨl]~[fɔrcɨl['suckling pig'; [beřə]~[beʌ] 'berry'; [joəř]~[joʌ] 'year'. These examples indicate that the vocalic allophone [ʌ] has both a syllabic and a non-syllabic realization, that is [^] and [ˇ]. This is also true of [r] which is syllabic in [bytr̩] 'outside' and non-syllabic in [bæršt] 'brush'. The syllabic [r̩] varies with syllabic [^] in word-final position as in [bytr̩]~[byt^] 'outside'. It should be noted that neither [^] nor [r] occurs word-initially and neither occurs intervocalically. A more complete list of allophones of /r/ including the syllabic and non-syllabic allophones is:

Environment for the phoneme /r/[57]

[ř]	/ #( )______
[ř]~[ɾ̲]	/ C( ) ______ / V______V
[r̩]~[^]	/ C______#
[ř]~[^]	/ V______#
[ř]~[r]~[^]	/ ______C

The authors in the chart below all noticed the ocurrence of the trilled "r", Goerzen indicated the use of the continuant "r" and Mierau mentions the flap. Only Mierau has also noted the use of a vocalic allophone of /r/. Goerzen says,

> It is important to note that the non-syllabic |ə| fluctuates so that in less rapid speech it becomes unaccented |a| or |^|; it may however disappear when an originally present |r| is used in r-liason or linking. e.g., |dorev^| yet |do |,|do^|, and |doa| are the three phonetic forms of *doa* as the rate of utterance slows down and the last two become

---

[57] Taxanomic phonemic notation is used rather than the usual feature notation. In this instance this formatting is clearer than one including features due to the vocalic and consonantal allophones.

disyllabic.[58]

He treats them as vowel sequences and not as allophones of /r/.

---

[58] Goerzen, p. 82.

Symbols Used for /r/

	[ř]	[ɾ̲]	[r]	[^] [ˆ]
Goerzen	[r][59] r̲,r̲r̲[61]		[r][60] r̲	(ə‾ʌ‾a) (a̲)
Mierau	[r]‾[ŕ] /r/	[r] /r/[63]		[a] [a̯][62]
Moelleken	[r] /r/[64]			
Thiessen	[r] r̲[65]			([a]) (a̲)[66]

---

[59] Goerzen, p. 88.

[60] In his transcription Goerzen does not have a separate symbol; he uses [r] and then in brackets writes if it is a *Canadian vocalic 'r'* or simply *vocalic 'r'*, p. 187.

[61] Goerzen uses r̲r̲ after a short vowel, p. 88.

[62] [a̯] is non-syllabic and [a] is syllabic. Mierau, p. 20.

[63] Mierau uses the symbols [r, ŕ] for the "alveolar flap or trill: and [r] for the "alveolar flap". As these are allophones of the same phoneme, he uses /r/ for both. He makes no mention of a continuant "r", p. 20.

[64] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, p. 35.

[65] Thiessen treats [a] as a vowel and does not list [a] as an allophone of /r/. He indirectly indicates that [a] and [r] are in free variation in certain words. For example: ",Foam, Foárem, f. subst. (fóam, fóərəm); landwirtschaftlicher Betrieb...."*Dictionary*, p. 19.

[66] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. XII and *Studien*, p. 9.

c. Summary of Trills:

The alveolar trills [ř], [ɾ̠] and the frictionless continuant [r] are allophones of the phoneme /r/. The phoneme /r/ also has the off-glide allophone [ˆ] and two syllabic allophones [r̩] and [^]. Only [ř] and [ɾ̠] occur intervocalically where they are in free variation. Postvocalically there is free variation among [ř], [ɾ̠] and [^]. [^], [ř] and [r] are in free variation before consonants.

d. The Semi-vowel [j]:

The semi-vowel [j] occurs initially and medially. Initially [j] is found in words such as [jy] 'you'; [jo^] 'year'; [jel] 'yolk'; [jɛlt] 'money'; [jωŋ] 'boy'. Initially [j] is not an distinct phoneme as it can vary with [ĵ] and [γ] initially. This aspect of the semi-vowel [j] will be discussed further in the section on Manner of Articulation.

[j] occurs intervocalically as in [aij^] 'eggs' and [mɨjæl] 'girl'. Here it can be seen as a glide between vowels. Although [j] usually occurs as a glide between vowels, it is optional as is evidenced by [ɟælme^] and [ɟælmej^] 'carrot'. Whether or not the speaker uses a glide between vowels depends on the rapidity of speech. [j] is an optional linking off-glide of vowels and diphthongs in both these instances.

6. Manner of Articulation:

a. Stops and Fricatives:

There are a few instances of stops varying with fricatives. For example:

[he:baωm]~[he:vaωm] 'midwife'
[voɩ]~[boɩ] 'mountains'
[hoɩgəlt]~[hoɩγəlt] 'hailed'
[gaonz]'goose'~[γanz] 'geȩse'
[zɩc]~[zɩç] 'himself'
[cən]~[çən] 'dim. ending'

Although none of these variations occurs frequently, certainly the most common is [g]~[γ]. W.W. Moelleken noticed a free variation of [g] and [γ] in initial position for some of the speakers.[67] J. Thiessen writes:

> *g* velarer Explosiv- oder Reibelaut, stimmhaft. Im Anlaut bei älteren Sprechern meist Reibelaut.... Inlautend und auslautend bei allen Sprechern verschieden nach der lautlichen o, u.... In Lehnwörtern kommt der Explosivlaut auch in anderer Umgebung vor.[68]

J. W. Goerzen states that [γ] is an allophone of /g/; that [γ] occurs after diphthongs and long vowels; that [g] occurs

---

[67] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, p. 35.
[68] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. XII.

"after short back vowels"; that [g] and [γ] "do not appear in phonemic contrast so that their distinction is a phonetic...one."[69] Later Goerzen says that a diphthong consisting of a long back vowel and a schwa may be followed by [γ] or [g].[70] Here is an area where some fluctuation in the dialect is taking place, perhaps due to interference from High German. The interpretation must be that these are not allophonic but morphophonemic variations.

b. Fricatives and Glides:

The fricatives [ĵ] and [γ] both vary with the glide [j] as shown in the following examples:

[ĵælme^]~[jælme^] 'carrot'
[γanz]~[janz] 'geese'
[pli:əγən]~[pli:əjən] 'to plow'

The variation between [ĵ] and [j] is very common. [j] should be considered a co-allophone in free variation with [ĵ]. It therefore belongs to the phoneme previously designated /ĵ/.

The distribution of [ĵ] and [γ] (as discussed previously) is:

---

[69] Goerzen, p. 89.
[70] Goerzen, p. 94.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ fricative} \\ -\text{ anterior} \\ +\text{ voiced} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\pm\text{ fronted}] \;\; / \;\; (\text{V})\underline{\hspace{3em}}\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{ front} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \#\underline{\hspace{3em}} \end{array} \right\}$$

The following examples show [ĵ~j~γ] initially and medially:

[ĵælme^]~[jælme^] 'carrot'

[γanz]~[janz] 'geese'

[pli:əγən]~[pli:əjən] 'to plow'

As [j] and [ĵ] are allophones of /ĵ/ and [γ] is an allophone of /x/, we would have by this arrangement some overlap of phonemes in the palatal and alveolar places of articulation medially and initially. Hence a reinterpretation is called for. We shall regard [pliəjən] as /pliəĵən/ and [pliəγən] as /pliəxən/, that is, this word and all words with these variants exist in two phonemic sequences.

B. VOWELS

1. Vowel Chart

The following is a chart of phonetic realizations noted in this dialect:

	FRONT		CENTRAL	BACK	
	Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
High	i: i ι	y: y Y	ʉ ɨ		u: u ω
Mid	e: e ϵ	ø: ø œ	ə ʌ		o: o ɔ
Low	æ		a: a	ɑ: ɑ	

2. Vowel Length:

There are several pairs of vowels which are either long or short depending on emphasis or rapidity of speech. Eric Mierau writes that the relative length of the vowels [i] [ɩ]; [e] [ɛ]; [o] [ɔ]; [u] [ɷ] serves to differentiate the pairs.[71] However, in rapid speech the difference in length between the two in each set is minimal.

If we look at the following pairs of words we will observe that length, as it makes no difference in meaning, is not phonemic:

[švi:n] ~ [švin]	'pig'
[dy:] ~ [dy]	'you'
[da:n] ~ [dan]	'then'

3. Stressed and Unstressed Vowels:

There are three vowels [ə] [ɨ] [ʉ] which only occur in unstressed position. As well, there are two vowels [ʌ] and [ɑ] which occur only in stressed position. All the rest of the vowels, that is, [i, ɩ, e, ɛ, y, ø, œ, u, ɷ, o, ɔ, a] can occur in either stressed or unstressed positions.

---

[71] Mierau, p.4.

4. Tense and Lax Vowels:

We have seen that length does not always differentiate the vowels; what does differentiate them consistently is muscular tension. The high and mid vowels [i, e, o, u] are articulated with more muscular tension that [ι, ϵ, ɔ, ω]. The central and low vowels [ɨ, ʉ, ə, ^, æ, a, ɑ] all appear to be articulated with no or very little muscular tension.[72]

In the following paragraphs it will be demonstrated that the tense vowels display certain common characteristics as do the lax vowels.

a. Vowels before /r/:

There is a reduction of vowel contrasts before [r̲], [ř] and [r]. In the corpus of data the following words were recorded:

[iršt] ˜ [ιršt]	'first'		
[bϵrp̥] ˜ [beřp̥]	'berries'		
[guřc] ˜ [gωrc]	'cucumber'		
['mor̲ιən]	'morning'	[zə'mɔr̲ənts]	'in the morning'

In actual fact the vowels in the above sets of words must be articulated somewhere between [i] and [ι], [e] and [ϵ], [o] and [ɔ], [u] and [ω]. We should then propose the archiphonemes /I, E, U, O/ before /r/.

---

[72] Mierau, p. 4.

Only the tense vowels [i, y, e, u, o] occur before [ʌ]; the lax vowels never do. If we look at the following sets of words, we can see that tenseness is predictable before [ʌ]:

[viʌ]	'was'	[vɩřən]	'were'
[beʌ] ~ [bɛřʌ]	'berry'	[berɒ̥]	'berries'
[fuʌ] ~ [fʊř]	'drove'		
[špoʌlɩŋ́] ~ [špɔrlɩŋ́]	'sparrow'		

The low vowels [æ, a, ɑ] all occur before [ř], [ɾ̲] and [r], but never before [ʌ]. The mid and high central vowels [ə, ɨ, ʉ] can occur before [ʌ] when the word is in unstressed sentence position.

As tenseness can be predicted before /r/ when the vowel is stressed, we can then write the rule as follows for the archiphonemes /I, E, U, O/:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{central} \\ +\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{llll} [+\text{tense}] & / & \underline{\qquad} & [\wedge] \\ [\pm\text{tense}] & / & \underline{\qquad} & [\check{r},\ \underline{ɾ},\ r] \end{array} \right\}$$

The low vowels [æ, ɑ] are not included in the above diagram because [æ] is an allophone of /ɛ/ and [ɑ] is an allophone of /ɔ/. The low central vowel [a] may precede the consonantal phonemes of /r/, that is [ř, ɾ̲, r], but never [ʌ].

b. Vowels Preceding Nasals:

There is slight nasalization of vowels before nasals. Whether or not nasalization is present does not change the meaning of the word, as in [aõnfãŋən] ~ [aonfaŋən] 'to begin'. Therefore, nasalization is not phonemic. This could be written as follows:

$$[+\text{ vowel}] \rightarrow [\pm\text{ nasalized}] \;/\; \underline{\qquad} \;[+\text{ nasal}]$$

The tense vowels [y, e, o] occur before /m/ and /n/. In the corpus the tense vowel [i] occurs only before /n/. However, one could surmise that with more data [i] would follow the pattern and would occur before /m/. The other tense vowel [u] is not very common in occurrence and the few times it did occur, it was never before /n/ or /m/. The low back vowel [ɑ] also occurs only before /m, n/. The lax vowels [ɪ, ɛ, æ, ʊ, ɔ, a] occur before all the nasals, that is before /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/. Examples are given in the following chart:

Vowels Before Nasals

	Tense		Lax	
m	[plym]	'plum'	[hɪmberɒ]	'raspberries'
	[vem]	'whom'	[ɛmʌ]	'always'
			[šlæmʌhaoɨs]	'sore throat'
			[hɷməl]	'bee'
	[homʌ]	'hammer'	[zɔm]	'some'
n	[min]	'my'	[ṣ̌vɪnd]	'fast'
	[dynən]	'down(n.)'	[ɛnt]	'duck'
	[tenʌ]	'tooth'	[ænd]	'and'
			[kɷn]	'can'
	[šlonən]	'to hit'	[fɔn]	'from'
	[bɔkḷžɑn]	'tomato'	[janz]	'goose'
ñ			[jɪñʌ]	'younger'
			[bɛñəl]	'naughty boy'
			[læñʌ]	'longer'
			[ɷñən]	'below'
ŋ			[vřɪŋ]	'wring'
			[hɛŋst]	'stallion'
			[væŋ]	'wall'
			[jɷŋ]	'boy'
			[ɔŋkəl]	'uncle'
			[jəlaŋən]	'succeeded'

As we can predict that only lax vowels will occur before /ŋ/ and /ñ/, the archiphonemes /I, E, O, U/ can again be proposed for the high and mid non-central vowels and the following rule can be written:

$$[+\text{vowel}] \rightarrow \begin{array}{l} [+\text{lax}] \;/\; \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ -\text{anterior} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ [\pm\text{lax}] \;/\; \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{anterior} \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

In a similar fashion to vowels preceding /r/ the low vowels are not included in this rule.

c. Free and Checked Vowels:

All of the vowels occur in checked position, that is, before other consonants. The tense vowels [i, y, e, u, o] plus the low central vowel [a] can occur in free position: in word- or syllable-final position or before other vowels.[73]

Free and Checked Vowels

Free		Checked			
[mi]	'me'	[min]	'my'	[ṅɩç]	'not'
[ny]	'now'	[mys]	'mouse'		
[ne]	'no'	[nez]	'nose'	[mɛt]	'with'
[nu]	'now'	[mus]	'moose'	[nɷšt]	'nothing'
[no]	'before'	[mod]	'grub, magot'	[nɔx]	'still'
[mɑ:ma]	'mother'			[naxt]	'night'

---

[73] Mierau writes that /a/ does not occur in open syllables. However, in the Swift Current Low German /a/ does occur in open syllables in a few words.

In addition the central vowels [ɨ] [ʉ] and [ə] occur in open syllables when the words are in unstressed sentence position:

[nə hys 'gonə]	'to go home'
[ɛc fə'sto: dɨ nɩç]	'I don't understand you'
[vuʌ jʌɩst dʉ 'hæn]	'where are you going?'

Once again the archiphonemes /I, E, O, U/ can be used for the tense/lax pairs [i,ɩ]; [e,ɛ]; [o,ɔ]; [u,ɷ] and as before, the low vowels do not fit this analysis. Whether or not the vowels will be tense or lax in open syllables can be predicted as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{ low} \\ -\text{ central} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{ tense}] \;/\; \underline{\qquad}\,\#$$

Vowels in closed syllables cannot be predicted. Therefore a further discussion of the individual vowels in warrented. The vowels are grouped according to tongue height to facilitate examination of rounded or unrounded vowels.

5. High Vowels:

a. High Front Unrounded Vowels:

There are two high front unrounded vowels: [i] is a high, tense, front, unrounded vowel and [ɩ] is a high, lax, front, unrounded vowel. [ɩ] is articulated with a somewhat more central tongue position and with less muscular tension than [i].

The following pairs indicate that [i] and [ɩ] are found in analogous environments:

[i]		[ɩ]	
[tit]	'time'	[dɩt]	'this'
[vinax]	'Christmas'	['vintʌ]	'winter'
['hizʌ]	'houses'	['bɩzʌ]	'horse fly'
['bisəł]	'stinger'	['blɩtsən]	'lightning'
['diːstl̩]	'shaft of cart'	[dɩstl̩]	'thistle'

Therefore /i/ and /ɩ/ can be considered phonemic.

b. High Front Rounded Vowels:

The two high front rounded vowels are [y] and [ʏ]. [y] is articulated with the tongue in a high, tense position and with the lips rounded. [ʏ] is articulated with less muscular tension than [y], but the lips are still rounded. Both [y] and [ʏ] are pronounced slightly closer to the center than [i] and [ɩ].

In the data [y] and [ʏ] were not found to contrast. [ʏ] occurred in words such as ['sɩplʏək] 'onion tops' and ['zʏřʌšmaont] 'sour cream'. But in more careful speech or under emphasis these words were [sɩplyək] and [zyřʌšmaont]. Therefore [y] and [ʏ] are not separate phonemes.

The high front rounded vowels do, however, contrast with the high front unrounded vowels in the following words:

[i]		[ɩ]		[y]	
[tit]	'time'			[tyt]	'bag'
['dinʌ]	'your'	['dɩñʌ]	'things'	['dynən]	'down(n.)'
[ziːn]	'his'	[zɩnovənt]	'Saturday'	[syːn]	'suckling pig'

/i/, /ɩ/ and /y/ must, on the basis of the above evidence, be considered separate phonemes.

c. High Central Vowels:

The high central vowels are [ɨ] and [ʉ]. [ɨ] is pronounced with unrounded and [ʉ] with rounded lips. They are both articulated in a central tongue position with lax muscular tension.

In rapid speech some speakers unround the monosyllables [jɨ] 'you (formal)' and [dɨ] 'you (familiar)' in unstressed sentence position. These words can become further reduced to [jə] and [də]. On other occasion the [y] stays rounded but is pronounced with a central tongue position as in [dʉ]~[dy] 'you (familiar)'. In such instances these vowel variations must be considered as morphophonemic alternations, where the vowel chosen is dependent on stress.

The mid central vowel [ə] sometimes varies with [ɨ] in unstressed syllables:

[jɨ'fωŋən] ~ [jə'fωŋən]	'found'
[bɨ'hi:pə] ~ [bə'hi:pə]	'stook'

Since they do not contrast, the unstressed vowels [ɨ] and [ə] are not separate phonemes but are allophones of the same central phoneme /ə/.

In words which occur in unstressed sentence position [ω] may vary with [ʉ] as in:

[mi:n 'bωd^{L}l̩]	'my bottle'
[ən bʉdl̩ 'bʌɩjʌ]	'a bottle of beer'
[minə 'mωtʌ]	'my mother'
['šviʌmʉtʌ]	'mother-in-law'

[ʉ] should then be considered an allophone of /ω/, which may occur in unstressed syllables. The distribution of /ω/ is:

$$/\omega/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} [\pm \text{ central}] & / \ [- \text{ stress}] \\ [+ \text{ back}] & / \ [+ \text{ stress}] \end{array} \right\}$$

d. High Back Rounded Vowels:

The two high back rounded vowels are [u] and [ω]. Both are pronounced with rounded lips. The [ω] is articulated with the highest part of the tongue in a more dorsal position and with less tension than [u]. In the corpus [u] is not very common. Historically, [u] has been fronted to [y] in this dialect. The only words which presently contain [u] are English loan words. We can compare [u] and [ω] in the following pairs:

[u]		[ω]	
[vu^t]	'word'	[vωd]	'wanted to'
[fu^]	'drove'	[fωŋst]	'find'(2nd sing.)
[bu^]	'builder'	[bωdl̩]	'bottle'

Here we see that [u] usually occurs before /r/, and [ω] before other consonants. It would appear that [u] and [ω] are not separate phonemes. However, some words, such as

[mus] 'moose' and [slu] 'slough' which have been adopted from English, were found to contrast with [ω] in [mωt^] 'mother' and [šlωkp̣] 'to swallow'. As [u] and [ω] contrast we can posit the two phonemes /u/ and /ω/.

Moelleken does not list [y] as a separate phoneme, but rather as an allophone of /u/.[14] Most other authors concurred that /y/ was an Old Colony Dialect variation of /u/.[15] Our evidence from the Swift Current Low German dialect, on the other hand, indicates that /y/ is a phoneme separate from /u/:

[u]		[y]	
[mus]	'moose'	[mys]	'mouse'
[slu]	'slough'	[šlyt]	'lock'

Furthermore, /u/ contrasts with /y/ and /i/ in [u^] 'ear'; [y^] 'watch' and [i^] 'sooner'. /u/, /y/ and /i/ are therefore separate high tense phonemes.

---

[14] W.W. Moelleken, "Diaphonic Correspondences in the Low German of Mennonites from the Fraser Valley, British Columbia", *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 34 (1967), p. 246.

[15] Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 3; Mierau, p. 112; Goerzen, p. 189.

6. Mid Vowels:

a. Mid Front Unrounded Vowels:

Of the mid front unrounded vowels [e] is tense and [ɛ] is lax. [e] and [ɛ] are shown to be separate phonemes by the following similar pairs:

[e]		[ɛ]	
[zen]	'son'	[zɛnt]	'are'
[tə'medo]	'tomato'	[nə'mɛdax]	'afternoon'
[cnedn̥]	'kneeding'	[cnɛtn̥]	'knitting'
[jel]	'yellow'	[jɛlt]	'money'

Therefore /e/ and /ɛ/ are separate phonemes.

b. Mid Back Rounded Vowels:

The mid back rounded vowels are [o], tense, and [ɔ], lax. [o] and [ɔ] contrast in the following words:

[o]		[ɔ]	
[mod]	'grub, magot'	[mɔt]	'must'
[kodʌ]	'cat (masc.)'	[kɔdʌ]	'cloth'
[blom]	'flower'	[lɔn]	'lawn'
[gřopən]	'large pot'	[přɔp]	'graft'

We can therefore consider /o/ and /ɔ/ as separate phonemes.

c. Mid Front Rounded Vowels:

The two front rounded vowels are [ø] and [œ]. Neither is very common in the data, although of the two [ø] was more prevalent. [ø] and [œ] were never found to contrast with one another: [gløcən] ~ [glœcən] 'bells'. They are not phonemically distinct.

There is a tendency for [ø] to vary with [e] and [o] in certain words. Meirau writes that in the Old Colony variety of Ukranian Low German there is extreme fronting and unrounding of /o/ before the velar consonants /k/, /g/ and /x/, although there are some speakers who pronounce /o/ as a fully rounded back vowel.[14]

This is also true to a certain extent in the Swift Current Low German. [ø], [e] and [o] vary in the following sets:

[hø^kə̥] ~ [he^kə̥] ~ [ho^kə]	'hook'
[føgəl] ~ [feγəl] ~ [foγəl]	'bird'

There is, however, one occurrence of unrounding before a non-velar consonant, as well:

[zœnz] ~ [zɛnz]	'saw'

---

[14] Mierau, p. 112.

There are two words where all the speakers use [ø] consistently:

[øγ] ~ [øɔγ]	'eye'
[høɔγ]	'high'

Compare these with [fondeɔγ] 'today'. One could then say that [ø] contrasts with [e]. On the other hand, no contrast between [o] and [ø] before [γ] or [ɔγ] was found. The conclusion must be that [ø] and [œ] are allophones of /o/. The allophones of /o/ have the distribution:

$$/o/ \rightarrow \text{[ø(ɔ)]} \; / \; \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} C \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ +\ \text{velar} \\ +\ \text{fricative} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{[ø]} \\ \text{[œ]} \\ \text{[o]} \end{Bmatrix} \; / \; \text{elsewhere}$$

In the literature the general concurrence is that [ø] is a variation of [o]. Moelleken says that [ø] was only found in vowel combinations.'' Thiessen and Goerzen also mention [ø] only in combination with vowels. Thiessen uses

---

'' Moelleken, *Diaphonic Correspondences*, p. 246.

the symbol öa'• and Goerzen uses both |øə| and |œə|.''

Although [ø] does usually occur before vowels in the Swift Current dialect, this is not always the case. The only vowel which occurs after [ø] other than [ɔ] is the vocalic variant of /r/ as in [høˆkɒ̣] 'book'. [ø] also occurs before [n] in [zønz] 'saw' and before [γ] in [øγ] 'eye'.

d. Mid Central Vowels:

i. The mid central vowel [ʌ]:

The mid central vowel [ʌ] occurs in stressed syllables. [ʌ] varies with the lax back vowels [ω] and [ɔ] in words such as ['hʌməl] ~ ['hωməl] 'bee', ['bʌkvʌɩdeɔγ] ~ [bωkvʌɩdeɔγ] 'stomach ache', [pʌg] ~ [pɔg] 'tadpole' and with the low central vowel [a] in ['apə] ~ ['ʌpə] '(up)on the', ['kabəl] ~ [kʌbəl] 'female horse'. On the other hand, there are a few words where the stressed vowel was always pronounced [ʌ] as in ['bʌtr̥flai] 'butterfly', ['kʌzɩn] 'cousin'. The [ʌ] in these words does contrast with [ω], [ɔ] and [a]:

[ʌ]		[ɔ]		[a][ω]	
[kʌzɩn]	'cousin'	[kɔs]	'goat'	['onkast]	'supper'
[třʌbl̩]	'trouble'	[přɔp]	'graft'	[křωtš]	'cart'
[bʌtr̥fɫai]	'butterfly'	[bɔkl̩žɔn]	'tomato'	[bωt]	'about'

'• Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 30.

'' Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 189.

Even though it is a borrowed phoneme, /ʌ/ can, on the strength of the above evidence, be considered separate from /ω/, /ɔ/ and /a/. Where variations with these vowels occur, /ʌ~ω~a/, the words must be considered morphophonemic alternations.

No other authors have noted the use of /ʌ/ as a separate phoneme. As more English words are taken into the dialect, the use of /ʌ/ will become more prevalent.

The sound [ʌ] is also an allophone of /r/. Both the phoneme /ʌ/ and the allophone [ʌ] are pronounced the same, so the identical symbol has been used for both /ʌ/ and [ʌ]. There should be no confusion between the two as the phoneme /ʌ/ occurs only medially between consonants in stressed syllables and the allophone [ʌ] occurs after other vowels or in word-final position.

ii. The mid central vowel [ə]:

Schwa or [ə] is a mid central vowel which occurs in unstressed position. [ə] is articulated with the tongue in the mid central or 'rest' position. Schwa occurs in word endings such as [ˈbi:tən] 'to bite', [kə'nincə] 'rabbit', [mə'jaləs] 'girls'. The mid central vowel has an allophone [ɨ], pronounced with a somewhat higher tongue position than [ə]. [ɨ] is in free variation with [ə] in di- or trisyllabic words:

[mə'jaləs] ˜ [mɨ'jalɨs]	'girls'
[bə'hipə] ˜ [bɨ'hipə]	'to stook'
[kə'nincə] ˜ [kɨ'nincə]	'rabbit'

In longer utterances [ə] and [ɨ] also occur in unstressed monosyllabic words, for example in phrases such as:

[nɨ 'hys kɔmə]	'to come home'
[æm təm 'dřæšn̥]	'hired him for threshing'
[də fɔrmʌ 'pliçt]	'the farmer is plowing'

So the phoneme /ə/ has the allophones [ə ˜ɨ].

iii. [ə] **versus** [ʌ]:

Whereas [ə] and [ɨ] can occur in free position, [ʌ] is always found in checked position. As well [ʌ] occurs only in stressed position and [ə] [ɨ] occur only in unstressed positions. Therefore we could consider [ʌ], [ə] and [ɨ] as allophones of /ʌ/, which are in complementary distribution. On the other hand, a case could be made to consider /ə/ a separate phoneme. This in fact is the consensus in the literature.

If [ə] and [ʌ] were to be considered allophones of the same phoneme, with [ə] the unstressed allophone and [ʌ] the stressed allophone, this would not account for [ə] alternating with the stressed vowels. For example: [ɛm] 'in the', [dʌɩ] 'the', [vi] 'we' are often [əm], [də], [və] in unstressed sentence position. [ə] could be considered the neutralized vowel of all the vowel phonemes in unstressed position. For example: [dy] 'you', [zʌɩ] 'she' and [ænd] 'and' are reduced to [də], [zə] and [ən] in rapid speech. However, there are instances where some words only had the vowel [ə]. For example: [nə] 'towards' and [sə] 'to the' were always [nə] and [sə]. As there was never any occurrence of a full vowel in some words and it would be impossible to predict which vowels they would be, then, it is better to keep /ə/ as a separate phoneme.

7. The Low Vowels:

a. The Low Front Unrounded Vowel [æ]:

The low front vowel [æ] is not in itself a separate phoneme. [æ] is in free variation with [ɛ] for all speakers. The following examples will serve to illustrate this free variation:

[zænt] ~ [zɛnt]	'are'
[mæts] ~ [mɛts]	'cap'
[šæfl̩] ~ [šɛfl̩]	'shovel'

[flæc] ~ [flɛc] 'patch, field'

Therefore both [ɛ] and [æ] are allophones of /ɛ/ in free variation with each other.

b. Low Central Vowels:

There are two low central vowels. They are both pronounced with unrounded open lips. [a] is short and [a:] is long. Neither [a] nor [a:] were found in environments which contrast. [a] occurs before consonant clusters as in [tvalf] 'twelve', [šatl↓] 'saucer' and [a:] before single consonants in [ra:zən] 'lawn' and [va:dʌ] 'weather'. Therefore there is one low central phoneme /a/ with the allophones [a] and [a:] in complementary distribution. The distribution of allophones can be predicted as follows:

$$/a/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\text{ long}]\ /\ \_\_\_\_ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \# \\ \text{CV} \end{array} \right\} \\ \\ [-\text{ long}]\ /\ \_\_\_\_\text{CC} \end{array} \right\}$$

The phoneme /a/ contrasts with the phoneme /ɛ/ in the following words:

/a/		/ɛ/	
[latst]	'last'	[flæc]	'field'
[šatl̩]	'saucer'	[šæfl̩]	'shovel'
[falm]	'colt'	[fænts]	'fence'
['vinaxs]	'Christmas'	[ħaˌšræk]	'grasshopper'
[br̠at]	'board'	[br̠æst]	'breast'

Because they contrast /a/ and /ɛ/ are separate phonemes.

c. The Low Back Unrounded Vowel [ɑ]:

The vowel [ɑ] is aŋ allophone of /ɔ/. In the following words, it can be seen that [ɑ] is in free variation with [ɔ]:

[,bɔkl̩'žɑːn] ~ [,bɔkl̩'žɔn]	'tomato'
['ij^d,šɑːk] ~ ['ij^d,šɔk]	'potato'
['mɑːma] ~ ['mɔma]	'mother'
['i^d,vɑrm] ~ ['i^d,vɔrm]	'earthworm'

[ɔ] can occur either in stressed or unstressed syllables. [ɑ] occurs only in stressed syllables. As well only [ɔ] occurs before /ŋ/ and /ɦ/. The distribution of the allophones [ɔ] and [ɑ] can be simplified as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{tense} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\pm\ \text{low}]\ /\ \begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \\ [-\ \text{low}]\ /\ \begin{bmatrix} -\ \text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \\ [-\ \text{low}]\ /\ \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\ \text{nasal} \\ -\ \text{anterior} \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right\}$$

A second rule can apply after the above rule. As the length of [ɑ] is predictable we can formulate the second rule as follows:

$$[\text{ɑ}] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\ \text{long}]\ /\ \underline{\qquad}\text{CV} \\ [-\ \text{long}]\ /\ \underline{\qquad}\text{CC} \end{array} \right\}$$

In the literature only Goerzen has noted the use of [ɑ] which he lists as a back unrounded vowel distinct from /a/ and /ɔ/.** The evidence from our data only indicates that /a/:/ɔ/ and that [ɑ] is an allophone of /ɔ/. This is

---

** Goerzen, p. 83.

demonstrated by the examples below:

[šatl̩]	'saucer'
['ij^dšɔkŋ̩] ~ ['ij^dšɑkŋ̩]	'potatoes'
[vartən]	'to wait'
[vɔrm] ~ [vɑrm]	'worm'

8. Conclusion and Summary of Vowels

There are several distinct subsets in which the vowels display similar characteristics. In the tense/lax set the tense vowels can either be long or short, but not before /ṅ/ or /ŋ̇/, can occur in free and checked syllables and before [^]. The lax vowels are always short and appear only in checked syllables. There is also a stressed/unstressed set. The phoneme /ə/ occurs only in unstressed syllables. Other vowels, however, can occur in unstressed syllables. There is a group of rounded vowels which includes all back vowel phonemes plus one front rounded phoneme /y/. There are three vowel heights: high, medium and low. The high and mid vowels display many similar characteristics but differ on occassion from the low vowels. As well the front and back vowels constitute a group different from the central vowels.

The phoneme chart of the Swift Current dialect must include the above mentioned features. The postulated phonemes are shown within slant lines in the chart below. The allophones of the respective phonemes are given in square brackets.

Vowel Phonemes

	FRONT		**CENTRAL**	**BACK**
	unrounded	**rounded**		
High	/i/ [i:][i] /ɩ/ [ɩ]	/y/ [y:][ʏ]		/u/ [u:][u] /ω/ [ʉ][ω]
Mid	/e/ [e:][e] /ɛ/ [ɛ][æ]		/ə/ [ə̣][ɨ] /ʌ/ [ʌ]	/o/ [o:][o] [ø][œ] /ɔ/ [ɔ][ɑ:][ɑ]
Low			/a/ [a:][a]	

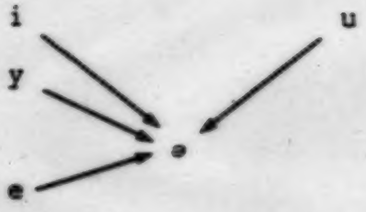
The lack of symmetry and consistency in the system may be the result of an unfinished sound change; for example, there is a high front rounded phoneme but mid front rounded vowels are still allophones. The influence of English has resulted in the inclusion of /u/ and /ʌ/. Difficulties in analysis arose due to the problem in deciding where to make the phonemic divisions: for example, whether [ʉ] should be included with the other unstressed central vowels [ɨ] and [ə] or with /ω/. The large number of morphophonemic variations may be due to the fact that this is a changing language spoken by a group of people who historically have varied backgrounds and whose speech is somewhat influenced by High German and highly influenced by English.

9. Diphthongs

a. Ingliding Diphthongs:

The ingliding or centering diphthongs are [iᵊ, yᵊ, eᵊ, uə]. This group of diphthongs starts in a high to mid, front or back position and glides towards the center.

Ingliding Diphthongs



Examples of centering diphthongs are given in the following list of words:

[fliəɟən]	'to fly'	[ciəçš^]	'cook(n.)'
[ryəkən]	'to smoke'	[kuəkən]	'cookies'
[švineᵊɟəl]	'porcupine'	[cveᵊc]	'quack grass'
[kaotᵊzeᵊγɬ]	'cattail'	[veᵊγən]	'wagon'

These centering diphthongs only occur before palatal or velar stops and fricatives and only with tense vowels as first element. They could in actual fact be considered allophones of tense vowel phonemes with a predictable off-glide before velar and palatal obstruents. The data, then, agrees with Mierau's statements:

> All V,V, clusters have a mid central non-syllabic offglide before velar and palatal stops and fricatives...[*']

Accordingly we regard [iə, yə, eə, uə, oə] as allophones of /i, y, e, u, o/ respectively.

We move on to a consideration of a similar group of diphthongs:

[*'] Mierau, p.22. Mierau's V,V, are the tense vowels [i e u o].

[fondeoγ]	'today'
[høɔx]	'high'
[meɔkp̣]	'to make'

The latter part of the vowel in effect is assimilated to the following consonant. The diphthongization is the same as in the previous discussion, except that the off-glide takes on the retracted feature of the velar consonants and is somewhat further back than the schwa, as in words like:

[høɔx]	'high'
[øɔγ]	'eye'
[føɔk]	'often'

The off-glide stays rounded after the front rounded vowel [ø].[82] It appears then that the off-glide is assimilated to both the preceding vowel and the following velar consonant. However, before the palatal consonants the off-glide [ɔ] is not assimilated to the preceding vowel. The insertion of an off-glide after tense vowels can be expressed by the following numbered rules:[83]

---

[82] Although Goerzen refers to these as schwa diphthongs and not monophthongs with off-glides, he does state that in the Old Colony dialect [oə] is rounded before/k/ and /g/. p. 190.

[83] The symbol α means "has the same feature as" or "similar in value to". The symbol Ø means a null.

Rule 1:

$$\varnothing \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{front} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{tense} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{palatal} \\ +\text{obstruent} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rule 2:

$$\varnothing \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{front} \\ -\text{tense} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \\ \pm\text{round} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{velar} \\ +\text{obstruent} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rule 3:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{front} \\ -\text{tense} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \\ \pm\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{round} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{front} \\ +\text{tense} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \\ \alpha\,\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{velar} \\ +\text{obstruent} \end{bmatrix}$$

Moelleken lists /ɔa/ and /oa/ as phonemes which occur before [k, γ, x] plus he sees /ɔa/ as having the allophone [o:] in free variation with [ᴏa].[84] The diphthongs /ea/ and /ɛa/ are listed as occurring before /j/ and /c/. The diphthong /ea/ also has the allophone [e:].[85] Thiessen briefly mentions /oa/ and /öa/ as occurring in the dialect. As /oa/ and /öa/

---

[84] Moelleken, *Diaphonic Correspondences*, p. 246 and *Niederdeutsch*, p. 28.
[85] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, p. 29.

are not present in his list of phonemes, we deduce that Thiessen treats them as vowel sequences. In his example in the *Studien*, /oa/ and /öa/ always occur before velar consonants.[44] Clearly, these vowel sequences present some difficulties in interpretation. However, the concensus in the literature seems to be that they occur only before velar and palatal obstruents. This strengthens the evidence that they are predictable, are not phonemes, but allophones of the tense vowels before palatal and velar stops and fricatives. Thus for Swift Current Mennonite German we have the phonemes /i, y, e, u, o/ with the respective sets of allophones [iə; iɔ; yə; yɔ; eə; eɔ; uə; uɔ; oə; oɔ; øɔ].

b. Upgliding and Outgliding Diphthongs:

There are a number of diphthongs which start in a low-central position and glide upwards to a higher front or back tongue position. These are classified as long. Other diphthongs start in a mid-central position and glide outwards towards the front or back. These are designated as short diphthongs. There are also other diphthongs which start with a mid back vowel and glide towards the front. In the following paragraphs the diphthongs are classified as either front or back depending upon whether the off-glide is towards the front or back.

---

[44] Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 30.

i. Front diphthongs:

Among the diphthongs which glide towards a front vowel, there are many variations in what appears to be only three major sets:

Short front diphthongs: [ʌɛ, ʌe, ʌɪ]
The short front diphthongs are those diphthongs which start with a central vowel and glide outwards and sometimes upwards as well. If we look at the word meaning 'she', which can be rendered [zʌɛ], [zʌe] or [zʌɪ], we will see that all of the short diphthongs which glide outwards towards the front are allophonic variations of the diphthong /ʌe/.

Long front diphthongs: [ae, aɪ, ai, ɔe, ɔɪ, ɔi]
The two distinct groups are those that start as a low central vowel and glide up towards the mid or high front vowels and those which start as a mid-back vowel and glide towards a mid to high front vowel. If [daɪt], [daet] and [dait] can all mean 'does' then the diphthongs [ae, aɪ, ai] are allophones of /ai/. The word "phooey" will be [fɔe], [fɔɪ] or [fɔi] depending on the emphasis or speaker. Therefore [ɔe, ɔɪ, ɔi] are allophones of /ɔɪ/. Of the three front diphthongs /ɔɪ/ is the least common in occurrence.[47]

If we compare the three front diphthongs in the following sets of words, we well see that /ai/, /ʌe/ and

---

[47] Only Moelleken has observed the occurrence of /ɔɪ/ which he states seldom appears. *Niederdeutsch*, p. 23.

/ɔɪ/ are indeed separate phonemically:

/ʌe/ versus /ai/

short		long	
[dʌɪd]	'did'	[dait]	'does'
[ɟlʌɪv]	'to believe'	[ɟlaɪz]	'track'
[mʌɪs]	'mean(adj.)'	[mai]	'May'

/ʌe/ versus /ai/ versus /ɔɪ/

short		long		long	
[fʌɪt]	'feet'	[fain]	'fine'	[fɔi]	'phooey'
[ʌejʌ]	'earlier'	[aijʌ]	'eggs'	[ɔejʌn]	'to become annoyed'
[hʌe]	'he'			[hɔɪgəlt]	'hailed'

ii. Back diphthongs:

The numerous diphthongs which glide towards the back can be divided into two groups:

Short back diphthongs: [ʌo, ʌω, ʌu]

The short back diphthongs all start with a mid-central lax vowel and glide towards a back vowel, whose height varies between the central to high range. Words such as [kʌo] 'cow' and [zʌo] 'so' may be [kʌo] ~ [kʌu] ~ [kʌω] or [zʌo] ~

[z^ω] ~ [z^u] without a change in meaning. There is really only one short diphthong with an off-glide to the back, /^o/, which has the allophones [^o, ^ω, ^u].

Long back diphthongs: [ao, aω, au]
They all begin with a low central vowel and end with a mid to high front vowel. The word for 'cat' may be [kaot] ~ [kaωt] ~ [kaut] depending upon the speaker and rapidity of speech. Therefore the phoneme /au/ has the allophones [ao], [au] and [aω]. The following pairs of words show /^o/ and /au/ in analogous environments:

/^o/ versus /au/

short		long	
[ř^ωt]	'red'	[řaωt]	'wheat'
[f^ot]	'foot'	[vaot]	'what'
[d^ut]	'dead'	[daut]	'that'
['m^ωnæt]	'month'	[maωn]	'man'

As /^o/ and /au/ contrast in the above environments they are separate phonemically.

iii. Monophthongs versus diphthongs:

The upgliding and/or outgliding diphthongs, unlike the ingliding vowel sequences, can be compared with and shown to contrast with monophthongs. This is demonstrated in the groups of words below:

Monophthongs Versus Diphthongs

MONOPHTHONGS		DIPHTHONGS			
		Front		Back	
[dιt]	'this'	[d^ιd]	'did'	[d^ot]	'dead'
		[daιt]	'does'	[daut]	'that'
[dy]	'you'	[d^ι]	'they'	[dao]	'do'
[šitən]	'to deficate'	[šɔιtən]	'to shoot'	[šautən]	'shadow'
				[š^t]	'lap'
[mys]	'mouse'	[m^ιs]	'mean'	[m^os]	'fruit soup'
[miz]	'mice'	[mai]	'May'		
[mus]	'moose'				
[mo:nən]	'poppies'			[m^ωnæt]	'month'
				[maun]	'man'
[bɔmp^]	'bumper'	[bɔιm]	'trees'	[baum]	'tree'
['hebamə]	'midwife'	['kɔmbain]	'combine'		
[fad^]	'male cousin'	[fɔi]	'phooey'	[f^ot]	'foot'
		[f^it]	'feet'		
[vad^]	'again'	[vait]	'wheat'	[vaot]	'what'

c. Symbols:

Goerzen, Mierau, Moelleken and Thiessen all have indicated that there are four distinct phonemes /ʌɩ/, /ai/, /ʌω/ and /au/. Moelleken was the only one who observed /ɔɩ/ in the particular dialect he studied. The table below indicates the symbols which the above mentioned authors have used. The underlined symbols are those used in the orthographic rendering of words.[**]

[**] General difficulties of analysis is indicated by the complexities of the table.

Symbols Used for Diphthongs

	FRONT			BACK	
	short	long		short	long
	/ʌe/	/ai/	/ɔı/	/ʌɔ/	/au/
Goerzen	/EI/ ei[95]-ɛi[96]	/ei/[89]- /ee/[91]- /eI/[93] ee[97]-ea[98]		/ɔU/- /ʌU/[92]- /ɔu/[94] au[99]-aw[100]	/ou/[90] oo[101]
Mierau	/ei/	/ai/		/ou/	/au/[102]
Moelleken	/əI/ [əI][e:]	/æI/ [æI][ɛI]	/OI/ [OI]	/əʊ/ [əʊ]	/ɔʊ/[103] [ɔʊ][104]

---

[89] Goerzen, p. 81
[90] Goerzen, pp. 81-82.
[91] Goerzen, p. 174
[92] Goerzen, p. 81.
[93] Goerzen, p. 186.
[94] Goerzen, p. 111.
[95] Goerzen, p. 84.
[96] Goerzen, p. 112.
[97] Goerzen, p. 84.
[98] Goerzen, p. 126.
[99] Goerzen, p. 84.
[100] Goerzen, p. 146.
[101] Goerzen, p. 85.
[102] Mierau, p. 5.
[103] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, p. 23.
[104] Moelleken, *Niederdeutsch*, pp. 26-29.

Thiessen	/^e/[105]~ /ai/[107] ai[109]~ ei[113]~ ee[117]~ e[121]~äw[122]	/^i/ ei[110]~ ee[114]~ ei[118]~ eh[123]~ö[124]		/^o/ au[111]~ ou[115]~ oa[119]~ ow[125]~o[126]	/^u/[106]~ /au/[108] au[112]~ ou[116]~ e~ee[120]~ oh~ouh~ oo[127]~o[128]

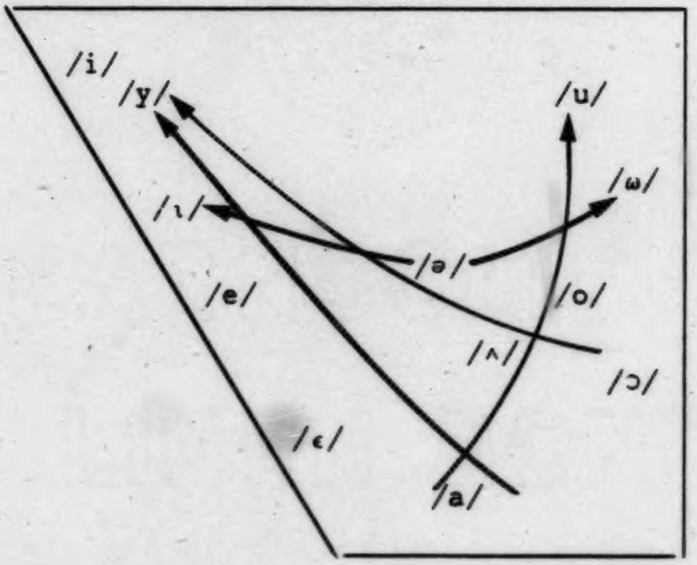
d. Summary of Diphthongs:

There are five diphthongs which are phonemically distinct. The diphthongs can be grouped in two ways. First, one may group three long diphthongs /ai/, /au/, /ɔɩ/ against two short diphthongs /^e/, /^ɔ/. Second, one may take the three diphthongs which glide towards the front /ai/, /^ɩ/, /ɔɩ/ as opposed to the two diphthongs which glide towards the back /au,/, /ʌo/. Although the so-called centering diphthongs were not found to be phonemically distinct from the monophthongs, the outgliding diphthongs were indeed phonemically separate from the single vowels. The following diagram shows the articulatory relationships of the diphthongs to the monophthongs. The arrows indicate the direction in which the diphthongs glide.

---

[105] Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 9 and *Dictionary*, p. XI.
[106] Thiessen, *Studien*, p. 9 and *Dictionary*, p. XI.
[107] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 5.
[108] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p 3.
[109] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 1.
[110] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 4.
[111] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 1.
[112] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 2
[113] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 5.
[114] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 7.
[115] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 31.
[116] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 4.
[117] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 19.
[118] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 9.
[119] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 33.
[120] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 14.
[121] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 34.
[122] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p.22.
[123] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 13.
[124] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 62.
[125] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 66.
[126] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 5.
[127] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 27.
[128] Thiessen, *Dictionary*, p. 39.

Articulatory Relationship of Vowels and Diphthongs



III. Summary and Conclusions

The objective of this thesis was to document the phonemes of the German dialect spoken by the Mennonites living in the Swift Current, Saskatchewan area. Several methods were used to achieve this purpose. The history of the Mennonites and their dialect was examined, with specific reference to the Swift Current group and a map of the area was drawn. A questionnaire containing the original Wenker Sentences and the Mitzka Wordlist along with an English translation of these sentences and list of words was developed. The investigator selected and interviewed the informants using the questionnaire. The tape-recorded and phonetically transcribed data were entered into the University of Alberta Amdahl computer using new symbols devised for computer use. Simple scanning methods were used to process the data. Charts were compiled to consolidate and compare the confusing array of phonetic and phonemic symbols used by other authors writing about similar dialects.

The segmental phonetics was described in detail and a phoneme inventory was established. Several unique characteristics were observed. Most notable were the borrowed sounds. These included the English [r] which is directly substituted for trilled [ř] in many cases; the phoneme /u/ which, after having been fronted to /y/, has come back into the language through English loan words; and /ʌ/, which replaces /r/ in many cases but which is also creeping into the dialect as a separate phoneme through extensive borrowings from English. Of interest as well was the full inventory of palatal consonants, which, except for fricatives, are not present in standard High German. Noteworthy anomalies included the apparent overlap of phonemes, interpreted as morphophonemic alternations, which are probably due in large part to the present state of flux of the dialect.

Certain recommendations for future research can be drawn from this study. The English list of words used in the Questionnaire would prove useful for interviewing informants who have little knowledge of High German and for establishing a corpus of data on which to base a more specialized study. The longer Wenker sentences are not recommended because of the difficulty in oral presentation and response elicitation.

The use of the computer for efficient data processing is recommended for future phonological studies. The time consumed in entering data into the computer was minimal in comparison with the time saved in sorting data by conventional card-file procedures. The simple scanning method can be used by anyone with a basic knowledge of computers. The new set of symbols which were devised for the computer should prove beneficial to any future dialect study.

The charts which compare the symbols used by other authors engaged in similar research should be valuable for further comparison studies.

Future research should include a more through examination of the anomalies of the dialect, its basic morphology and syntax, and the extent of English influence upon the grammar as a whole. A more formal socio-linguistic study should also be undertaken.

Bibliography

Auburger, Leopold. "Die Monophthongalen Vokale des kanadischen Plautdietsch." *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Kanada: Berichte zur Gegenwartslage*. In *Deutsche Sprache in Europa und Übersee: Berichte und Forschung*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1977, p. 139-148.

Becker, Anthony. "The Germans from Russia in Saskatchewan and Alberta." *German-Canadian Yearbook*. Vol. III. Ed. Hartmut Froeschle. Toronto: Historical Society of Upper Canada Inc., 1976, pp. 106-119.

Dawson, C.A. *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. 7. Ed. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., at St. Martin's House, 1936.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Population: General Characteristics*. Ninth Census of Canada 1951. Vol. I. Ottawa: Dept. of Trade and Commerce, 1953, pp. 56-17 to 56-19.

----------. *Population: Official Language and Mother Tongue*. 1961 Census of Canada. Vol. I, Part 2, Catalogue 92-549 (Bulletin 1.2-9) Ottawa: Dept. of Trade and Commerce, 29 Jan. 1963.

Eichhoff, Jürgen. "Niederdeutsche Mundarten in Nordamerika: Geschichte und Bibliographie." Vol. 104. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch: Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*. Neumünster: Karl Wochholtz Verlag, 1981, pp. 134-159.

Epp, Frank H. *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974.

----------. *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982.

Epp, Georg K. "Ein Verein zur Pflege der deutschen Sprache in Kanada: Mennonitischer Sprachverein (Mennonite German Society)." *German-Canadian Yearbook*. Vol. III. Ed. Hartmut Froeschle. Toronto: Historical Society of Upper Canada Inc., 1976, pp. 271-272.

Francis, Emerich K. "Mennonite Institutions in early Manitoba: a Study of their Origins." *Agricultural History*, 22 (1948), 144-155.

Goerzen, Jakob Warkentin. *Low German in Canada: A Study of "Plautdītsch" as Spoken by Mennonite Immigrants from Russia*. Diss. University of Toronto, 1952; rpt. Edmonton: n.p., 1972.

Goertzen, Peter, ed. *Teichroeb: A family history and genealogy of Peter Johann and Justina (Wolf) Teichroeb and their descendants*. Winnipeg: Peter Goertzen, 1980.

Howell, Richard W. and Jack Klassen. "Contrasting *du/Sie* Patterns in a Mennonite Community." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 13 (1971), 68-74.

Friesen, Abram. "Die Mennoniten Manitobas." *German-Canadian Yearbook*. Vol. III. Ed. Hartmut Froeschle. Toronto: Historical Society of Upper Canada Inc., 1976, pp. 94-96.

Klippenstein, Laurence. "Canadian Mennonite Writings: a Bibliographical Survey, 1970-1980." *German-Canadian Yearbook*. Vol. VI. Ed. Hartmut Froeschle, Toronto: Historical Society of Upper Canada Inc., 1981, pp. 284-293.

Kloss, Heinz. "Die den internationalen Rang einer Sprache bestimmenden Faktoren. Ein Versuch." *Deutsch in der Begegnung mit anderen Sprachen: im Fremdsprachen-Wettbewerb, als Muttersprache in Übersee, als Bildungsbarriere für Gastarbeiter. Beiträge zur Soziologie der Sprachen*. Ed. Heinz Kloss. Tübingen: Verlag Gunter Narr, 1974, pp. 7-77.

Krahn, Cornelius. "Mennonite Plattdeutsch." *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 33 (1959), 256-259.

----------. "Swift Current (Sask.)." *The Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement*. Vol. IV. Scotsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1959. p. 669.

Ladefoged, Peter. *A Course in Phonetics*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1975.

Lehmann, Heinz. "Das Rußlanddeutschtum in Kanada." *Deutschtum im Ausland*, 22, No. 5 (1939), 281-282.

Mierau, Eric. "A Descriptive Grammar of Ukranian Low German." Diss. Indiana University, 1964.

Mitzka, Walther and Ludwig E. Schmitt. *Deutscher Wortatlas*. Gießen: W. Schmitz, 1954-57.

Moelleken, Wolfgang W. "Diaphonic Correspondences in the Low

German of Mennonites from the Fraser Valley, British Columbia." *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung*, 34 (1967), 240-253.

----------. *Niederdeutsch der Molotschna- und Chortitza-Mennoniten in British Columbia/Kanada*. Phonai 10, Monographien 4. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1972.

Morton, Arthur S. *History of Prairie Settlement*. Vol. II, Part I: *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement*. Ed. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, at St. Martin's House, 1938.

Moulton, William G. *The Sounds of English and German* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Pulte, William Jr. "An Analysis of Selected German Dialects of North Texas and Oklahoma." *Texas Studies in Biligualism: Spanish, French, German, Czech, Polish, Sorbian and Norwegian in the Southwest With a concluding chapter in code-switching and modes of speaking in American Swedish*. Studia Linguistica Germanica, Vol. 3. Ed. Glenn G. Gilbert. Berlin: Walther de Gruyter & Co., 1970, pp. 105-141.

Reflections on our heritage: a history of Steinbach and the R.M. of Hanover from 1874. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers Ltd., 1971.

Rempel, J.G. "Saskatchewan." *The Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement*. Vol. IV. Scotsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1959. pp. 424-426.

Richter, Manfred. "Die deutschen Mundarten in Kanada: Ein Forschungsbericht" *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies*, 3, No. 1 (1967), 53-65.

Schane, Sanford A. *Generative Phonology*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Schmiedehaus, Walter. "16 Jahre rußlanddeutscher Mennonitenkolonisation in Mexiko." *Deutschtum im Ausland: Zeitschrift für die Runde vom Deutschtum im Ausland*, 22 (1939), 283-286.

Statistics Canada. *Population: Demographic Characteristics Mother Tongue*. 1976 Census of Canada. Vol. 2, Catalogue 92-821 (Bulletin 2.2). Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, (1976), p. 4-21.

----------. *Population: Census Subdivisions (Historical)*. 1971 Census of Canada. Vol. I, Part 1. Catalogue 92-702 (Bulletin 1.1-2) Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and

Commerce, July 1973, pp. 2-88 to 2-93.

----------. *Population: Specified Ethnic Groups Census Divisions and Subdivisions*. Special Bulletin 1971 Census of Canada. Catalogue 92-774 (SP-4). Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, May 1974, pp. 2-97 to 2-102.

----------. *Population: Specified Mother Tongues for Census Divisions and Subdivisions*. Special Bulletin 1971 Census of Canada. Catalogue 92-773 (SP-3) Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Dec. 1972, pp. 2-10 to 2-73.

----------. *Population: Specified Religious Denominations Census Divisions and Subdivisions*. Special Bulletin 1971 Census of Canada. Catalogue 92-775 (SP-5). Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, May 1974, pp. 1-97 to 2-102.

----------. *Population: Unincorporated Settlements*. Special Bulletin 1971 Census of Canada. Catalogue 92-771 (SP-1). Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, March 1973, pp. 200-201.

Stumpp, Karl. *The German Russians: Two Centuries of Pioneering*. Trans. Joseph S. Height. Trostberg: A. Erdl KG.,1967.

Tischler, Kurt. "The Efforts of the Germans in Saskatchewan to Retain their Language before 1914." *German-Canadian Yearbook*. Vol. III. Ed. Hartmut Froeschle. Toronto: Historical Society of Upper Canada Inc., 1976, pp. 42-61.

Thiessen, John [Jack]. *Mennonite Low-German Dictionary: Mennonitisches Wörterbuch*. Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag. 1977.

----------. "Plattdeutsch in Kanada" *German-Canadian Yearbook*. Vol. III. Ed. Hartmut Froeschle. Toronto: Historical Society of Upper Canada Inc., 1976, pp. 211-219.

----------. *Studien zum Worschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten* Vol. 64 of *Deutsche Dialektographie*. Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag. 1963.

The Principles of the International Phonetic Association being a description of the International Phonetic Alphabet and the manner of using it, illustrated by texts in 51 languages. 1949; rpt. London: International Phonetic Association, 1979.

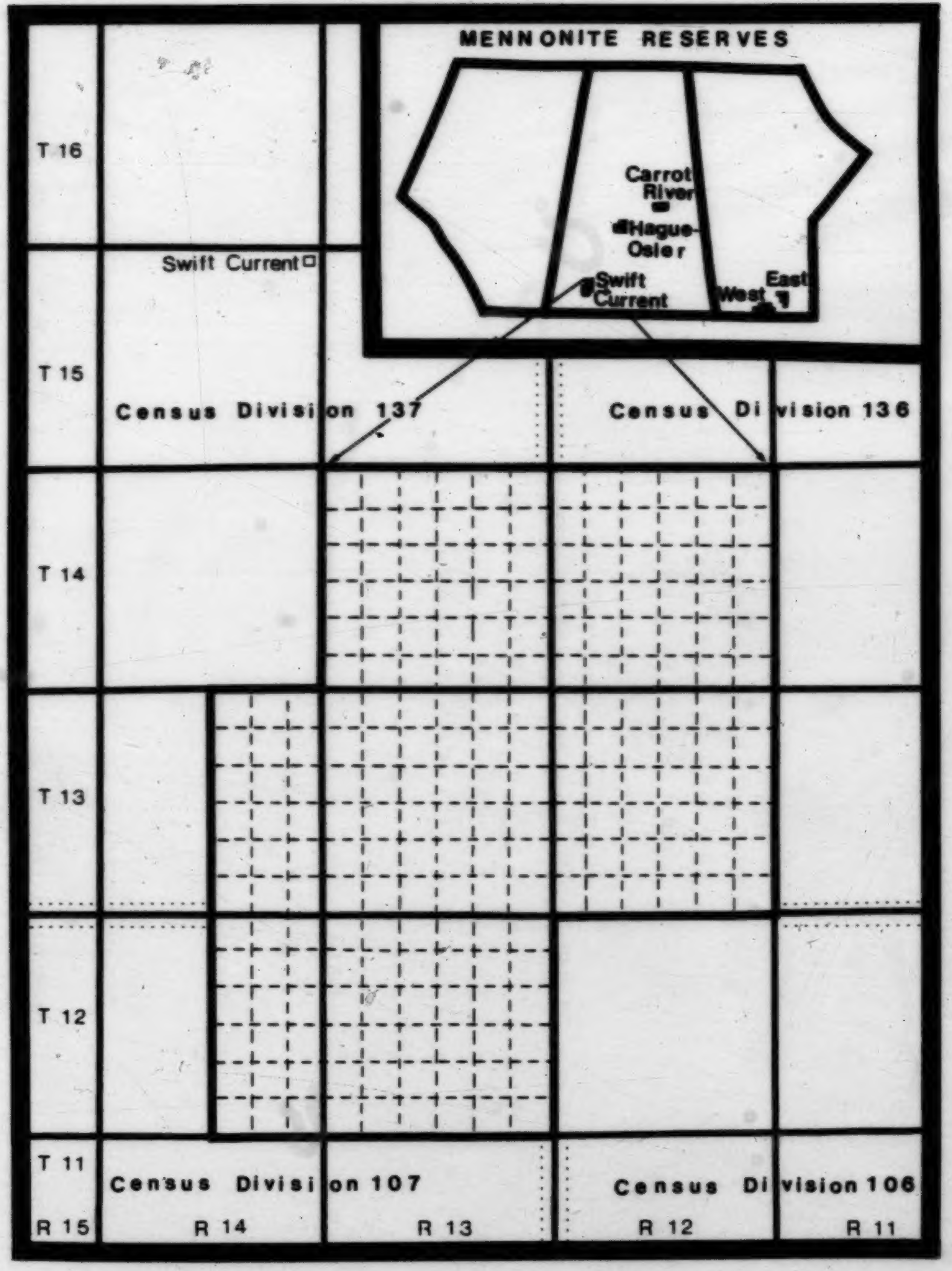
Wacker, Helga. *Die Besonderheiten der deutschen Schriftsprache in Kanada und Australien: Mit einem Anhang über die Besonderheiten in Süafrika und Palästina*. Book 17 of the Special Series *Die Besonderheiten der deutschen Schriftsprache im Ausland, Duden-Beiträge*. Ed. Hugo Moser. Mannheim: Duden, 1965.

Wenker, Georg, Ferdinand Wrede and Bernhard Martin. *Deutscher Sprachatlas* Marburg: N.G. Elvert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931.

Wiebe, Gerhard. *Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America*. Trans. Helen Janzen. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1981.

Appendices

I. MAP OF ORIGINAL SWIFT CURRENT RESERVE



II. Questionnaire

A. Sentences from DSA: German

1. Im Winter fliegen die trocknen Blätter in der Luft herum.
2. Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.
3. Tu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.
4. Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durchs Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.
5. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.
6. Das Feuer war zu stark, die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.
7. Er ißt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.
8. Die Füße tun mir sehr weh, ich glaube, ich habe sie durchgelaufen.
9. Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.
10. Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder tun
11. Ich schlage dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, du Affe
12. Wo gehst du hin, sollen wir mit dir gehen?
13. Es sind schlechte Zeiten
14. Mein Liebes Kind, bleib hier unten stehen, die bösen Gänse beissen dich tot.
15. Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen, du darfst früher nach Hause gehen als die andern.
16. Du bist noch nicht groß genug, um eine Flasche Wein auszutrinken, du mußt erst noch etwas wachsen und größer werden.
17. Geh, sei so gut und sag deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen.
18. Hättest du ihn gekannt dann wäre es anders gekommen, und es täte besser um ihn stehen.
19. Wer hat mir meinen Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?
20. Er tat so, als hätten sie ihn zum Dreschen bestellt; sie haben es aber selbst getan.
21. Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?
22. Man muß laut schreien, sont versteht er uns nicht.
23. Wir sind müde und haben Durst.
24. Als wir gestern Abend zurückkamen, da lagen die andern schon zu Bett und waren fest am Schlafen.
25. Der Schnee ist diese Nacht bei uns liegen geblieben, aber heute Morgen ist er geschmolzen.
26. Hinter unserem Hause stehen drie schöne Apfelbäumchen mit roten Äpfelchen
27. Könnt ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten, dann gehen wir mit euch.
28. Ihr dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben.

29. Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr hoch, die euren sind viel höher.
30. Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brot wollt ihr haben?
31. Ich verstehe euch nicht, ihr müßt ein bißchen lauter sprechen.
32. Habt ihr kein Stückchen weiße Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden?
33. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.
34. Das Wort kam ihm vom Herzen
35. Das war recht von ihnen
36. Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?
37. Die Bauern hatten fünf Ochsen und neun Kühe und zwölf Schäfchen vor das Dorf gebracht, die wollten sie verkaufen.
38. Die Leute sind heute alle draussen auf dem Felde und mähen.
39. Geh nur, der braune Hund tut dir nichts.
40. Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.

B. Wordlist from DWA: German

1. Ahorn (allgemein, nicht bes. Sort)
2. Ameise (die kleine Art)
3. Anemone (nemorosa)
4. Augenbraue
5. Augenlid
6. auswringen (mit der Hand Wäsche auspressen)
7. Backenzahn
8. Backtrog
9. barfuß
10. Bauchweh
11. sich beeilen (zum Bahnhof)
12. Begräbnis
13. Beule (durch Schlag)
14. es blitzt
15. Brennessel
16. Brombeere (Frucht)
17. Brotscheibe (bestrichen)
18. bügeln (Wäsche)
19. Deichsel (bei Zweispanner)
20. Distel (nicht bes. Sorte)
21. Docht (der Lampe)
22. Eichelhäher
23. Eigelb
24. Elster
25. (Enterich; männliche Ente) Ente (männliche)
26. Erdbeere (im Walde)
27. sich erkälten
28. ernten (Kartoffeln)

29. Euter (der Kuh)
30. Euter (allgemein)
31. fegen (Stube)
32. Ferkel
33. Fledermaus
34. Fliege (Stuben-)
35. Frosch (allgem.)
36. Frühling
37. Gabeldeichsel (Einspänner)
38. gackern
39. gähnen
40. (männliche Gans) Gans (männliche)
41. (Gänschen) Gans (junge)
42. Genick (des Menschen)
43. Gießkanne
44. Glühwürmchen
45. Grasschwade (mit einem Sensenhieb umgelegt)
46. Großmutter
47. Großvater
48. (Zweiter Grasschnitt) Grummet (zweiter Graßchnitt)
49. Gurke
50. häufeln (die Kartoffeln)
51. Hagebutte
52. a. Hahn b. Henne
53. (Böttcher) Handwerker, der Blech am Haus, z.B. Dachrinnen bearbeitet
54. (Stellmacher; Wagenmacher) Handwerker, der die Bauernwagen vor allem die Räder anfertigt
55. (Tischler)Handwerker, der Möbel anfertigt
56. (Töpfer) Handwerker, der die Tonwaren anfertigt
57. (Schlächter)Handwerker, der das Vieh schlachtet
58. (Fleischer) Handwerker, der das Fleisch verarbeitet
59. Hebamme
60. Heckenrose
61. heiser
62. (Glucke) Henne (brütende)
63. Heuschrecke
64. Himbeere (Frucht)
65. Holunder (Sambucus)
66. Hügel (kleiner Berg)
67. Hühnerauge
68. Hühnerhaus
69. Hummel (Insekt)
70. Igel
71. Iltis
72. Käfer (allgem.)
73. kämmen (Haare)
74. Kätzchen (am Haselstrauch)
75. (weibliches Kalb) Kalb (weiblich)
76. Kamille (auf dem Felde)
77. Kaninchen (zahmes)
78. Kartoffel
79. (männliche Katze; Kater) Katze (männlich)
80. Kaulquappe (Jugendform des Frosches)

81. Kleiderhaken (z. Aufhängen v. Kleidern)
82. Kleiderschrank
83. Kneifen (in den Arm)
84. Knöchel (am Fuß)
85. Knospe
86. Kopfweh
87. Kornblume (Cyanus)
88. Kreisel (Kinderspielzeug)
89. Kröte (allgem.)
90. Kruste (des Brotes)
91. Laken (für das Bett)
92. (weibliches Lamm) Lamm (weibl.)
93. Lappen (Wasch-)
94. leer
95. leihen (Geld an jemanden)
96. Lerche
97. Libelle (allgem.)
98. Maiglöckchen (Convallaria)
99. (Engerling) Larave des Maikäfers
100. Margerite (Chrysathemum leuc.)
101. Maulwurf
102. Meerrettich
103. Mistkäfer
104. Mohrrübe
105. Motte (im Wollzeug)
106. Mücke (Stech-, nicht bes. Art)
107. Mütze
108. Mutterschwein
109. nachharken (Getreide mit großem Handrechen zusammenholen)
110. Nachharke (das Handgerät dazu)
111. Nachmittag
112. Narbe (einer Wunde)
113. neugierig
114. nicht wahr?
115. Ohrwurm
116. Ostern
117. Pate
118. Patin
119. Peitsche (des Wagenlenkers)
120. pfeifen
121. Pflaume (nicht bes. Sorte)
122. pflugen
123. Plugwende (Ackerstelle, an der der Pflug gewendet wird)
124. (Korken)Pfropfen (für die Flasche)
125. Pilz (allgem.)
126. Platzregen
127. Preisselbeere (Vacciniumidäa vitis)
128. Pulswärmer (aus Wolle)
129. (jäten) Unkraut mit der Hand ausziehen
130. (Pfriem) Werkzeug zum Durchstechen des Leders
131. die Sense mit dem Hammer schärfen
132. (Sonnabend) letzter Wochentag vor dem Sonntag?
133. Quecke (Triticum rep.)

134. Rasen (Grasnarbe)
135. rauchen (Tabak)
136. Rauhreif
137. Regenwurm
138. Reifen(am Faß)
139. Rinde (des Nadelbaums)
140. Rinde (des Laubbaumes)
141. Roggen
142. Rotkraut (Kohlart)
143. Sahne (süße)
144. Sauerklee (Oxalis)
145. Sauerkraut
146. schelten
147. Schaufel (für Sand usw.)
148. Schlüsselblume (Primula, allg.)
149. Schneeglöckchen
150. Schnittlauch
151. Schnürband (am Schuh)
152. Schnupfen
153. Schornsteinfeger
154. Schwalbe (allgem.)
155. Schwengel (Zugholz für Stränge an der Deichsel);zusätzlich: Zweispännerwaage
156. Schwiegermutter
157. Schwiegersohn
158. Schwiegertochter
159. Schwiegervater
160. Seil (aus Hanf)
161. Sperling
162. Spinngewebe
163. Stachelbeere (Frucht)
164. Star (Vogel)
165. Stecknadel
166. Streichholz
167. stricken
168. Stricknadel
169. Tasse (Ober-, Unter-)
170. (männliche Taube) Tauber (männl. Taube)
171. Tomate
172. Topf (irdener)
173. unfruchtbar (von der Kuh)
174. Veilchen (Viola)
175. veredeln (Obstbäume)
176. Viehbremse
177. Wacholder (Juniperus)
178. Wanze
179. Warze
180. Wenden(Heu)
181. Werktag
182. wiederkäuen
183. wiehern
184. Wimper (Augen-)
185. Zahnschmerzen
186. Zaunkönig

187. Ziege
188. er hat den Brief zerrissen
189. voriges Jahr hat es viel Obst gegeben, dies Jahr wenig.
190. es hagelte vorgestern
191. er soll den Wagen ziehen
192. da war niemand zusehen
193. erst gab es Tränen, dann weinte das Mädchen nicht mehr.
194. Junge, halt den Mund, gehorche lieber
195. das Kind ist so klein, es braucht einen Sauger
196. den Schornstein fegen
197. im Nebel war keiner zusehen
198. wir haben oft gewartet
199. zeig mir doch dem Weg zwischen den Häusern

C. Sentences from DSA: English

1. In winter, the dry leaves fly around in the air.
2. It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will be better again.
3. Put some coals in the oven, so that the milk will soon begin to boil.
4. The good old man has broken through the ice with the horse and fallen into the cold water
5. He died four or six weeks ago.
6. The fire was too intense, the cakes are, of course, completely burned underneath.
7. He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.
8. My feet hurt me a lot, I believe, I have worn them out.
9. I was with the woman and have said it to her, and she said, she also wants to say it to her daughter.
10. I also won't do it any more!
11. I'll soon hit you about the ears with the ladle, you monkey/ape!
12. Where are you going, should we go with you?
13. These are bad times!
14. My dear child, stay down here, the angry geese are going to bite you dead.
15. You have learned the most today and have been well-behaved, you may go home sooner than the others.
16. You are not big enough, yet, to drink up a bottle of wine.
17. Go, be so good and say to your sister, she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother and clean them with a brush.
18. If you had only known him! then it would have been different, and it would have been better for him.
19. Who has stolen my basket of meat from me.?
20. He acted, as if they had arranged for him to thresh; they, however, had done it themselves.
21. To whom has he told the new story?
22. One must shout loudly, otherwise he doesn't understand

us.
23. We are tired and thirsty.
24. When we came back yesterday evening, the others were already lying in bed and were sound asleep.
25. Last night the snow at our place stayed, however this morning it has melted.
26. Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with red apples.
27. Could you (pl) not wait another moment for us, then we will go with you?
28. You should not allow such foolishness.
29. Our mountains are not very high, yours are much higher.
30. How many pounds of meat and how much bread would you like to have?
31. I don't understand you, you must speak a little louder.
32. Didn't you find a little piece of white soap on my table for me?
33. His brother wants to build himself two pretty new houses in our garden.
34. That word came from his heart!
35. They were right!
36. What sort of little birds are sitting up on the little fence?
37. The farmers had brought five oxen and nine cows and twelve sheep which they wanted to sell outside the village.
38. The people are all outside in the fields today and are combining.(reaping)
39. Just go, the brown dog won't do anything to you.
40. I drove behind there with the people, over the meadow into the grainfield.

D. Wordlist from DWA: English

1. acorn (general, not a special kind)
2. ant (the small kind)
3. rose
4. eyebrow
5. eyelid
6. to wring out (squeeze the washing out with the hands)
7. molar
8. a. kneading board b. bread board
9. barefoot
10. stomach-ache
11. hurry (to the station)
12. funeral
13. bruise, swelling (from a hit, blow)
14. it's lightning!
15. burning nettles
16. blackberry (fruit)
17. slice of bread (spread)

18. to iron (the wash)
19. a. shaft or pole of a cart b.axle
20. thistle (not a special kind)
21. wick (of the lamp)
22. jay (bird)
23. yolk
24. magpie
25. drake (male duck)
26. strawberry
27. to cach a cold
28. to harvest
29. udder (of a cow)
30. udder (general)
31. sweep (the room)
32. suckling pig
33. bat
34. fly (house-)
35. frog (gen.)
36. spring (time of year)
37. harness
38. to cluck, cackle
39. to yawn
40. a. gander (masc.) b.goose (fem.)
41. gosling
42. neck (of a person)
43. watering-can
44. glow-worm
45. swath
46. grandmother
47. grandfather
48. second crop (of hay)
49. cucumber
50. to earth (potatoes)
51. a. rosehip b. hip, haw (from a hawthorn)
52. a. rooster,cock b. hen
53. farmer
54. plumber
55. wagonmaker
56. carpenter
57. potter
58. butcher, who slays animals
59. butcher, who works in a store
60. a. midwife b. nurse
61. wild rose
62. hoarse, husky
63. bruding hen
64. grasshopper
65. raspberry
66. elder
67. hill
68. corn (on the foot)
69. hen house
70. bumble-bee
71. a. hedgehog b. porcupine

72. a. polecat b. bobcat, lynx
73. beetle (gen.)
74. to comb (hair)
75. a. flowers on a poplar tree b. cattail
76. a. female calf b. male calf
77. camomille
78. rabbit (tame)
79. potato
80. a. cat (masc.) b. cat (fem.)
81. tadpole
82. clotheshook
83. clothes closet
84. to pinch
85. ankel (bone)
86. bird
87. headache
88. a. cornflower b. bluebells
89. top (child's toy)
90. toad (gen.)
91. crust (of bread)
92. sheet (for the bed)
93. lamb (fem.)
94. cloth (wash-)
95. empty
96. lend (money to someone)
97. lark
98. dragon-fly (gen.)
99. lily of the valley
100. grub (larva of the June bug)
101. chrysanthemum
102. mole
103. horse-radish
104. a. dung beetle b. cockroach
105. carrot
106. moth (in woolens)
107. a. fly (gen.) b. mosquito
108. cap
109. sow (female pig)
110. to rake (to gather grain with a large rake)
111. rake (apparatus)
112. afternoon
113. scar (from a wound)
114. curious
115. isn't it? is it not so?
116. a. horse b. donkey
117. a. Christmas b. Easter
118. godfather
119. a. godmother b. godchild
120. whip (of a wagon driver)
121. to whistle
122. plum (not a special kind)
123. to plow, till
124. sheaf (of wheat)
125. cork, stopper (for a bottle)

126. mushroom (gen.)
127. cloudburst, downpour
128. cranberry
129. mitten (of wool), wristlet
130. to weed
131. awl (the apparatus used to pierce leather)
132. to sharpen (a scythe)
133. Saturday
134. couch-grass, quack-grass
135. lawn, turf
136. smoke (tobacco)
137. hoar-frost
138. earthworm
139. a. tire b. metal rim on a wooden barrel
140. bark (of a conifer or pine tree)
141. bark (of a deciduaous tree)
142. rye
143. red cabbage
144. cream (sweet)
145. clover
146. sauerkaut
147. to scold
148. shovel
149. yellow primrose, daisy
150. a. snowdrop b. crocus
151. chives
152. shoe-lace
153. head-cold
154. a. chimney b. chimney-sweep
155. swallow (gen.)
156. swingbar of a wagon
157. mother-in-law
158. son-in-law
159. daughter-in-law
160. father-in-law
161. rope (of hemp)
162. sparrow
163. cobweb
164. gooseberry
165. a. starling b. meadowlark
166. pin
167. match
168. to knit
169. knitting-needles
170. a. cup b. saucer
171. a. pigeon (masc.) b. pigeon (fem.)
172. tomato
173. pot (any kind)
174. unproductive (cow), sterile
175. violet
176. to graft (fruit tree)
177. horse-fly
178. juniper
179. a. bug b. bed-bug

180. wart
181. to turn over (hay)
182. weekday, workday
183. a. to chew cud b. to repeat over and over
184. neigh
185. eyelash
186. toothache
187. wren
188. goat
189. He has ripped up the letter.
190. Last year there was a lot of fruit, this year not much.
191. It hailed yesterday.
192. He should pull the wagon.
193. There was no one to see.
194. First there were tears, then the girl did not cry any more.
195. a. Boy, be quiet, obey instead.
     b. Young man, close your mouth, you'd better pay attention.
196. The child is so small, it needs a pacifyer/soother.
197. to sweep the chimney
198. In the fog, there was no one to be seen.
199. We have often waited.
200. Show me the way between the houses.

III. Computor Symbols

IPA Symbols	Computor Symbols	IPA Symbols	Computor Symbols
p	p	i	i
b	b	ɪ	I
t	t	e	e
d	d	ɛ	E
ţ (ţ)[1]	tj	æ	ae
ḑ (ḑ)	dj	u	u
c	kj	ʊ	U
ɟ (ɉ)	gj	o	o
k	k	ɔ	O
g	g	y	y
ʔ	?	Y	Y
f	f	ø	oe
v	v	œ	OE
s	s	ʌ	A
z	z	ə	&
ʃ (š)	S	a	a
ʒ (ž)	Z	ɑ	aa
ç	c	ɨ	i
j (ǰ)	J	ʉ	u
x	x	aɪ	aI
ɣ	G	aʊ	aU
h	h	ae	aE
m	m	ʌɪ	AI
n	n	ʌʊ	AU
ɲ (ñ)	nj	ɔɪ	OI
ŋ	ng		
l	l		
ɫ (ɫ)	l˜		
ʎ	lj		
r (ř)	r˜		
ɾ (ɾ̲)	r		
ɹ (r)	R		
j	j		

	IPA Symbols	Computer Symbols
unreleased	(˙)	)
aspiration	h (˙)	h
length	ː	:
primary stress	ˈ	"
medium stress	ˌ	'
sentence stress	(*)	*[2]
nasalization	˜	˜

[1] The symbols used in the text are shown in parentheses whenever they differ from the IPA symbols.

[2] This symbol is used for sentence stress in the the transcription (Appendix IV.)

IV. Transcription

1. In winter, the dry leaves fly around in the air.
   a. [ɛm *vɩnt^ 'fli:əjən d^ɩ 'dři:əj^ 'ble:d^ əřɔm ˀɛnə lɔft]
   b. /ɛm vɩnt^ flijən d^e drij^ bled^ rɔm ɛnə lɔFt/
2. It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will be better again.
   a. [daot vɔrt b^olt ɔp'hi:ɾ̠ən mɛt *šni:əjən daon vɔrt daɔt 'va:d^ 'va:d^ *be:t^ zɛnən]
   b. /daut vOrt b^olt ɔphIrən mɛt šniən daun vOrt daut vadər vadər betər senən/
3. Put some coals in the oven, so that the milk will soon begin to boil.
   a. [stɔp zɔm ko:lən ɛm 'o:vən z^ω daot dᵊn 'maiʎc' b^olt vo^t *ˀaonfa:ŋᵊn tao 'cɛᵊkən]
   b. /stɔp sɔm kolən ɛm oFən s^o daut dᵊn maiʎc b^olt vOrt aunfaŋən tau cɛkən/
4. The good old man has broken through the ice with the horse and fallen into the cold water
   a. [d^ɩ gaudə ˀaulə *maon ɛs dɛrç daot i:s jᵊbřeᵊkᵊn mɛt zi:n p'i^t ænd ɛs æn daot kaoldᵊ vot^ *jᵊfɔlᵊn]
   b. /d^e gaudə aulə maun ɛs dErÇ daut is jəbrekᵊn mɛt sin pIrt ɛnd ɛs ən daut kauldᵊ votᵊr jᵊfɔlᵊn/
5. He died four or six weeks ago.
   a. [h^ɩ štærf faij^ bωt zæs veᵊc *trɩg]

b. /h^e štErF fair bωt sɛs vec trɩg/

6. The fire was too intense, the cakes are, of course, completely burned underneath.

a. [daot 'fi:^ 'vi:^ tao *hait d^ɩ kʻek 'vi^ fɔn 'ɔɩñən gaonz fə*brænt]

b. /dait fIr vIr tau h^et d^e kek vIr fɔn ɔɩñən gaunz fəbrɛnt/

7. He always eats eggs without salt and pepper,

a. [h^ɩ at ɛm^ ʔ'aij^ ʔ'onən zɔlt ɒ̣ *pʻe:pʻ^]

b. /hai at ɛmər aiər onən sɔlt ən pepər/

8. My feet hurt me a lot, I believe, I have worn them out.

a. [mi:nə f^ɩt daunən zaɩjə v^ɩ ʔɛc *ɟ̇l^ɩv ɛc ha: d^ɩ *ytjəši:j^tʻ]

b. /minə f^et daunən saiə v^e ɛc ɟ̇l^ev ɛc ha d^e ÿtjəšiərt/

9. I was with the woman and have said it to her, and she said, she also wants to say it to her daughter.

a. [ʔɛc vi:^ mɛt d^ɩ *fry: ʔaon ha: ʔæř daot jə'za:çt ɒ̣ z^ɩ ze:d z^e vωd eɾ^ *dɔxt^ daot 'zaijən]

b. /ɛc vIr mɛt d^e fry aun ha Er daut jᵊsaÇt ᵊn s^e sed̈ s^e vωd Erᵊr dɔxtᵊr d^ot saiᵊn/

10. I also won't do it any more!

a. [ʔɛc 'vɔ^ daot *ωkʻ nɩç maij^ 'daunən]

b. /ɛc vOr daut ωk nɩÇ maiᵊr daunᵊn/

11. I'll soon hit you about the ears with the ladle, you monkey/ape!

a. [ʔɛc 'vɔ^ dy: baolt fɔř də *ʔu:ɾən šlo:nən mɛt den šlʌɩf dy *ʔop‘]

b. /ɛc vOr dy bʌolt fOr də Urən šlonən mɛt den šlʌeF dy op/

12. Where are you going, should we go with you?

a. [vuʌ jaɩst dʉ *hæn zo vi: *mɛt gonən]

b. /vUr jaist dU hɛn sO vI mɛt gonən/

13. These are bad times!

a. [dɩt ɛs n̩ *šla:çtə t‘i:t]

b. /dɩt ɛs ən šlaÇtə tit/

14. My dear child, stay down here, the angry geese are going to bite you dead.

a. [mi:n *cɩnt bli:v 'hi:ʌ dʌe dɔlə janz vɔɾ̠ən dʏ *dʌωt 'bi:tən]

b. /min cɩnt bliv hIr dʌe dɔlə jans vOrən dy dʌot bitən/

15. You have learned the most today and have been well-behaved, you may go home sooner than the others.

a. [dʏ hast vɔn deɔγ ət mi:štə jə'li:ʌt n̩ hašt dy: gaot 'ɑpjəfiʌt dy kaost fɔn'deɔγ 'i:jʌ nə hys gonən ʔəs də ʔaundrə]

b. /dy hast vɔn dex ət mištə jəlIrt ən hašt dy gaut ɔpjəfIrt dy kaust fɔndex iər nə hys gonən əs də aundrə/

16. You are not big enough, yet, to drink up a bottle of wine.

a. [dy bɛst‘ nɔx nɩç *gřaot jə'nuɔx tʌo n̩ bωd^{L}l̩ vi:n *ʔyt'dřɩŋkn̩]

b. /dy bɛst nɔx nιÇ graut jənux t^o ən bωdəl vin ytdrIŋkən/

17. Go, be so good and say to your sister, she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother and clean them with a brush.

a. [*go: si: goat' jə'nuɔγ t^ωn 'di:n^ zɛst^ zaijən z^ι zɔl d^e cl^ed^ 'naijn̩ fə 'di:nə mɑ:ma æn d^ι mɛt nə baršt *əřain meək'ən]

b. /gO sI gaut jənux t^o dinər sɛstər saiən s^e sɔl d^e cl^edər naiən fə dinə mɔma ɛn d^e mɛt nə barŠt rain mekən/

18. If you had only known him! then it would have been different, and it would have been better for him.

a. [vɛn dy æm bl^os haolts jəka:nt da:n 'vu^ do^t zɛnən 'aundaš jə*væst n̩ fe:l 'be:t^ fə *æm jə'væst]

b. /vɛn dy ɛm bl^os haults jəkant dan vUr dOrt sɛnən aundaŠ jəvɛst ən fel betər fə ɛm jəvɛst/

19. Who has stolen my basket of meat from me.?

a. [ve^ ha:ft mi:n karf fl^ιš jə*što:lən]

b. /vEr haFt min karF fl^eŠ jəštolən/

20. He acted, as if they had arranged for him to thresh; they, however, had done it themselves.

a. [h^ι fi:^d zιk' z^o *ɑp' as va:n h^ι zɔl *dřæšn̩ ˀob^ z^ι haudn̩ daot zɛlst jə*do:nən]

b. /h^e fIrd sik s^o ɔp as van h^e sɔl drɛŠən obər s^e haudən daut sɛlst jədonən/

21. To whom has he told the new story?

a. [ve:m ha:ft hʌι dʌι niə jəšιçt fə'tʻa:lt]

b. /vem haFt hʌe dʌe niə jəšιÇt fətalt/

22. One must shout loudly, otherwise he doesn't understand us.

a. [ʔʌιnʌ mɔt lyd 'bεʎcən 'ʔaondaš kaon hʌe ʔɔns nιç fə*što:n̩ən]

b. /ʌenər mɔt lyd bεʎcən aundaŠ kaun hʌe ɔns nιÇ fəštonən/

23. We are tired and thirsty.

a. [vi: zεnd maιd ən da:rštιç]

b. /vI sεnd mʌed ən darŠtιÇ/

24. When we came back yesterday evening, the others were already lying in bed and were sound asleep.

a. [ʔaos vi: 'jιstərn sə ʔovεnts *třιg cʻʌιmən vi:ɾən də 'ʔaondřə aol εm ba:d n̩ *šlʌιpn̩]

b. /aus vi: jιstərn sə oFεnts trιg cʌemən vIrən də aundrə aul εm bad ən ŠlʌePən/

25. Last night the snow at our place stayed, however this morning it has melted.

a. ['jιstərn zə *ʔovεnts blʌιf dʌe šnʌι bi: ʔɔnts obʌ fɔn deɔɣ sə mɔřιjəst εst' dʌe *aolə fə'šmɔltn̩]

b. /jιstərn sə oFεnts blʌeF dʌe šnʌe bI ɔnts obər fɔn dex sə mOriəst εst dʌe aulə fəšmɔltən/

26. Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with red apples.

a. [hεñʌ ʔɔnts hys zεnt' dřʌι šmɔkʻə cli:nə ʔaopł bɔιm mεt *əřaodə æpł]

b. /hEñᵊr ɔnts hys sɛnt drʌe šmɔkə clinə aupəl bɔɩm mɛt raudə ɛpəl/

27. Could you (pl) not wait another moment for us, then we will go with you?

a. [kωn jy nɔx aɩnə mə'nyt 'vartᵊn fə ʔɔnts da:n voʌ vi: *mɛt go:nən]

b. /kωn jy nɔx ainə mənyt vartᵊn fə ɔnts dan vOr vI mɛt gonən/

28. You should not allow such foolishness.

a. [jy 'zɔlŋ̥ nɩç zʌon *dɔmhait er'laubŋ̥]

b. /jy sɔlən nɩÇ sʌon ‿ dɔmhait Erlaubᵊn/

29. Our mountains are not very high, yours are much higher.

a. [ʔɔnzə bɔɩ zɛnt nɩç 'zʌɩʌ høɔx *jy:nʌ zɛnt fe:l 'hɛxʌ]

b. /ɔnsə bɔɩ sɛnt nɩÇ sʌer hox jynər sɛnt fel hɛxər/

30. How many pounds of meat and how much bread would you like to have?

a. [vʌo fe:l pʻωntʻ *flʌɩš ŋ̥ vʌo fe:l *břaut vɛstʻ dy *ha:nən]

b. /vʌo fel pωnt flʌeŠ ən vʌo fel braut vɛst dy hanən/

31. I don't understand you, you must speak a little louder.

a. [ʔɛc fə'što: dɨ *nɩç dy mɔts ly:dʌ ředŋ̥]

b. /ɛc fəšto də nɩÇ dy mɔts lydər redən/

32. Didn't you find a little piece of white soap on my table for me?

a. [fωŋ̇st dy nɩç ən cʻli:nət bi:t vɩtʌ zʌɩpʻ ɑp mi:nən *dæš fə mi:]

b. /fUŋ̇st dy nɩÇ ən clinət bit vɩtər s^ep ɔp minən dɛŠ fə mI/

33. His brother wants to build himself two pretty new houses in our garden.

a. [zi:n *braod^ vɛl zɩk' tvae šmɔkᵊ ni:ə *hi:z^ byən ɛn ''ɔnzən *go^dn̥]

b. /sin braudər vɛl sɩk tFai šmɔkə niᵊ hisər byən ɛn ɔnsən gOrdən/

34. That word came from his heart!

a. [daut vu^t *c^ɩm fɔn zi:n *ho^t']

b. /daut vUrt c^em fɔn sin hOrt/

35. They were right!

a. [z^ɛ vi:rn̥ *ᵊřa:çt']

b. /s^e vIrən raÇt/

36. What sort of little birds are sitting up on the little fence?

a. [vaot fᵊ 'c'li:nᵊ 'feᵊɣəl zɛnt daot ɑp d^ɩ *c'li:nᵊ fænts]

b. /vaut fᵊ clinᵊ fexəl sɛnt daut ɔp d^e clinᵊ fɛnts/

37. The farmers had brought five oxen and nine cows and twelve sheep which they wanted to sell outside the village.

a. [d^ɩ 'fɔrm^ 'haodn̥ *fi:f 'ɔsn̥ n^ɩjən ciᵊj n̥ tva:lf šo:p jə'břɔxt vaot z^ɩ vωlən bytᵊr ᵊt dærp fᵊc^ipn̥]

b. /d^e fOrmər haudən fiF ɔsən n^eᵊn ciÇ tFalF šop jəbrɔxt vaut s^e vωlən bytᵊr ᵊt dErp fᵊc^epᵊn/

38. The people are all outside in the fields today and are

combining.(reaping)

a. [d^ɩ 'mɛnšən zɛnt fɔn'deɔγ ˀaolə bytən ɑpə *štæp n̩ daonən *kɔmbaɩnən (dřæšn̩)]

b. /d^e mɛnŠən zɛnt fɔndex aulə bytən ɔpə štɛp ən daunən kɔmbainən (drɛŠən)/

39. Just go, the brown dog won't do anything to you.

a. [*go: *bl^os d^ɩ břynə hωnt vo^ dy: *nωšt 'daunən]

b. /gO bl^os d^e brynə hωnt vOr dy nωŠt daunen/

40. I drove behind there with the people, over the meadow into the grainfield.

a. [ˀɛc fu^ d^ɩ 'mɛnšən 'hɩñ^ *əřaun 'ev^ den bɔi ɑpəštæp' ən ɔp']

b. /ɛc fUr d^e mɛnŠən hIñər raun eFər den bɔɩ ɔpə štɛp ən ɔp/